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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles examines the influences of the state and federal government, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC), universities, accrediting agencies, and other external forces on the community college curriculum. Articles which deal with the role of the government in curriculum development include: "An Interview with Former Congressman O'Hara," by David B. Wolf and Mary Lou Zoglin; "The Federal Imprint," by Terrel H. Bell; "The Gordon Rule: A State Legislator Fulfills His Responsibility," by Jack D. Gordon; "California's $30 Million Course Cuts," by Gerald C. Hayward; and "Curriculum as Public Policy," by Lee R. Kerschner. Additional influences are considered in "The AACJC and Curriculum Reform," by James F. Gollattscheck; "The University Perspective," by John E. Roueche; "Accreditation and Curricular Change," by Howard L. Simmons; "The Kellogg Foundation and Curriculum Reform," by James M. Richmond; and "Business and Education: Partners in Curriculum Development," by David E. Anderson. In "A Case of Incomplete Institutionalization," Marshall W. Meyer reviews several organizational theories to analyze why community colleges, more than any other segment of higher education, are subject to external influences. Finally, Anita Y. Colby reviews ERIC documents and journal articles on curricular influences. (AJL)

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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External Influences on the Curriculum

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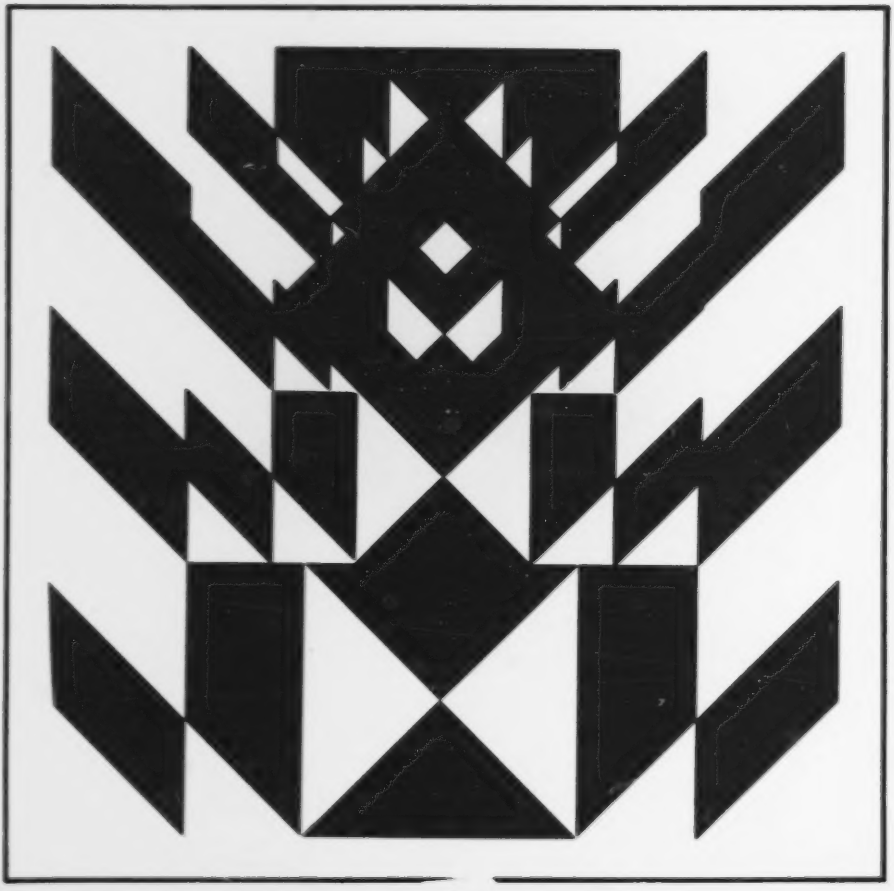

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External Influences on the Curriculum

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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES
ARTHUR M. COHEN, *Editor-in-Chief*
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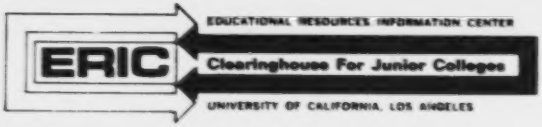

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Editors' Notes

There is a great deal in the literature about curriculum theory and building curriculum within a community college. Most of this discussion assumes that control of what is taught lies with the college, and particularly with its faculty. This conclusion comes from the association of the community college with the traditional practices of higher education. Nevertheless, this perspective overlooks the fact that community colleges are not carbon copies of four-year institutions. Indeed, they have always prided themselves on being sensitive and responsive to the needs of local constituents. Detailed analysis of the community college curriculum has confirmed this. For example, Zoglin (1979) reported on the source of one thousand courses added to the curriculum of three California community colleges. Faculty were indeed found to control the transfer curriculum, but community sources dominated the occupational and general or community education areas. These outside sources included students, advisory committees, businesses, industries, public agencies, and would-be instructors.

Additional challenges to this assumption have emerged recently. In this sourcebook, we attempt to bring together a broad range of perspectives concerning outside influences on the community college curriculum. This volume explores the deletion as well as the addition of curricula, the way courses are taught as well as what courses are taught, and the role of those who teach them. All these sources of influence are long-time players, including the federal government, major advocacy organizations (such as the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges), the graduate schools that prepare community college leaders, foundations, and accreditation associations. Some, however, have reasserted themselves as particularly important over the last decade—specifically, state governments (including the special higher education study groups they create) and the business community. The mechanisms by which these forces operate vary greatly. Some feature the carrot; others, the stick.

This volume opens with an examination of the influence of the federal government. Former Congressman James G. O'Hara notes in Chapter One that, at the policy level, the federal interest lies in ensuring access to postsecondary education for all Americans. Terrel H. Bell, former secretary of education, predicts in Chapter Two that the federal government's role in education will expand. The federal role historically has been overt and significant, through direct support for vocational education. In the future, we can expect increased federal interest in the

programs that students take and the results of their studies. James F. Gollattscheck, in Chapter Three, provides an additional perspective at the national level by discussing the influence of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges on federal policy and appropriations, as well as on the promotion of particular programs in colleges across the country.

The leading external role in the shaping of the community college curriculum now belongs to state governments. As Florida legislator Jack D. Gordon explains in Chapter Four, legislators' fiscal responsibility is the primary determinant of their influential role. In California, community colleges enjoyed their heyday before the passage of Proposition 13. In the ten years since this tax-cutting initiative, California has been trying to bring community college expenditures under control, and two chapters in this volume describe some of these efforts. First, Gerald C. Hayward, in Chapter Five, discusses the direct approach: specification of community college courses for which the state will henceforth provide no funding. Next, Lee R. Kerschner, in Chapter Six, discusses the indirect approach: restatement of the mission of the colleges so as to ensure their concentration on transfer, vocational, and remedial education, at the expense of general and community education. (The reader will note that Chapter Four also offers an approach to expenditure control, whereby the state, in promotion of accountability, emphasizes a very specific curricular goal and imposes it on the colleges, notwithstanding many professional educators' opposition to it.)

Several chapters in this volume examine a number of nongovernmental external influences. Chief among them is the university. John E. Roueche (Chapter Seven) examines four ways in which the senior institutions have had and are having an impact on the community college curriculum: by establishing the mission, by preparing the faculty, by specifying the lower-division requirements that transfer students must satisfy, and by conducting much of the research on community colleges.

Howard L. Simmons, in Chapter Eight, notes very specific examples of change in terms of course content and program standards alike. These changes have come about as direct results of accreditation activity.

The "fairy godmothers" of the community college movement have always been the foundations and, in particular, the Kellogg Foundation. In Chapter Nine, James M. Richmond explores the nature of the Kellogg Foundation's early connection with community colleges and attempts to explain why that link no longer exists.

The concept of a business-education partnership is hardly a new one, since community colleges' occupational curricula have always been closely related to local employment opportunities. Lately, however, a new emphasis has emerged that promotes joint efforts between individual

community colleges and specific firms in relevant service areas. David E. Anderson provides detailed examples of these partnerships in Chapter Ten and suggests directions in which they can move in the future. As the reader reviews external influences on community college curricula, he or she will discover that faculty are certainly at the core of curriculum development, but that subtle and not-so-subtle external forces are also having major and, perhaps, increasing influence on what is taught and how it is taught.

In Chapter Eleven, Marshall W. Meyer asks why community colleges appear to be buffeted by so many more external influences than other institutions of higher education seem to face. His answer may lead to a better understanding of the problems and opportunities confronting America's community colleges today.

For this volume, we tried to select representatives of various perspectives who are not only well respected and articulate but also able to be candid. We are indebted to all the authors for the time, thought, and patience that they have contributed to this effort.

David B. Wolf
Mary Lou Zoglin
Editors

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Zoglin, M. L. "Myth or Reality?" *Journal of Higher Education*, 1981, 52 (4), 416–426.

David B. Wolf is former president of Los Angeles Pierce College, Woodland Hills, California.

Mary Lou Zoglin is dean of instruction at Coastline Community College, Fountain Valley, California.

This chapter is the outcome of a conversation between the editors and former Congressman James O'Hara (D-Michigan), who has extraordinary experience in the area of higher education.

An Interview with Former Congressman O'Hara

David B. Wolf, Mary Lou Zoglin

Editors: Each federal legislator must specialize in only a few of the many policy areas around which the House and the Senate are organized. How did you become a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor and chair of the Subcommittee on Higher Education?

O'Hara: It was a series of accidents. The first accident was my election to Congress—but I suppose that's an accident for almost everyone who gets elected. The second accident was that, when I arrived, I was assigned to the Committee on Education and Labor and didn't know much about either education or labor. I had no special background in these fields, but I had an interest in elementary education, because in my congressional district there was a great deal of classroom overcrowding. I represented a congressional district in the suburbs of Detroit that experienced rapid population growth, and we were not able to build schools fast enough to accommodate the children. I was interested in getting federal assistance to districts like mine for the addition of school facilities. But I wasn't assigned to that subcommittee; I was assigned to a subcommittee dealing with occupational health and safety. So I worked on health and safety and, whenever I could, I did some work on elementary education. I didn't pay much attention to higher education except when I worried about the percentage of high school graduates who

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went on to higher education in my congressional district, which was not nearly as high as it was in some other parts of the Detroit metropolitan area. Then, by the operation of the seniority system, after fourteen years in Congress I had the opportunity to become chairman of the subcommittee that dealt with postsecondary education. It was then that I became acquainted with the details of federal legislation as it affected postsecondary education.

Editors: How did you become interested in community colleges?

O'Hara: I have mentioned my continuing concern about the low numbers of high school graduates in my district who were moving on to higher education. I talked to some of the universities in the area and asked them to make a special recruiting effort in the part of the metropolitan area that I represented, which was mostly a white, blue-collar area in which many families had no tradition of higher education. Then the community college movement got going in Michigan, and a community college was established in Macomb County, the major county of my congressional district. I was very interested in this college, because I thought it had a potential for attracting into postsecondary education a number of young people who were not going on after high school. I got acquainted with the people at home who were organizing the community college. I tried to stay abreast of what they were doing and tried to be of help.

Editors: There seems to be general agreement that Congress has a tremendous impact on the community college and its curriculum, for example, financial aid programs, direct institutional support under the Higher Education Act, and direct program support under the Vocational Education Act. How do these issues emerge and become law?

O'Hara: It is not a particularly tidy process, and at its base is the individual legislator and his or her interpretation of how best to serve the people. It's a very personal business. Let me demonstrate with an analysis of my relationship to community colleges. I came to Congress with an egalitarian philosophy. I went to the University of Michigan, both undergrad and law school. I have seven children who have completed a total of thirty-five years of higher education, all but three of them in public institutions.

After I had chaired the subcommittee on higher education for a while, I developed a very definite philosophy about the kind of higher education system I preferred. I very much admired the California system, with free or at least very low-cost community colleges, a very large and diverse state university and college system, and the University of California. I thought California had a great system, and I wanted every state to model itself after California. My goal was free public education beyond high school, and I said so on a number of occasions. My interest was in making postsecondary education available to more and more

people. In order to do that, you had to bring education to the people and make it available at times when it was convenient for them, and make it available in forms that were attractive to them. I believed that was good for the country, as well as being good for the individuals who benefited. Because it was good for the country, it ought to be at very low cost or at no cost. Now, all of this fit in with the philosophy of the community college, and thus the people from the community college movement and I were natural allies. I tried in various ways to strengthen the concept of the community college system while I was chairman of that subcommittee. But it wasn't anything on which I had to be sold, although I was in touch with the AACJC [American Association of Community and Junior Colleges] after I got to be chairman of the subcommittee, and they were very helpful on a number of occasions. Essentially, I was a self-starter in the field and didn't need anyone to push me in that direction.

Others on the subcommittee had different views. The community college was not the prominent issue for them. The committee members who had been taking the greatest interest in higher education, up until the time I became subcommittee chairman, were more interested in making sure that promising students could attend the most academically rigorous universities. For example, John Brademas, a former Rhodes scholar, and Frank Thomson, whose district included Princeton, had a different vision of higher education. They recognized that there was a role for community colleges, but they didn't give the issue of access the emphasis that I did. So the issues that arose, and the manner in which they were handled, reflected these personal priorities and perspectives.

Editors: In a process such as you describe, how can lobbying interests like the AACJC be effective?

O'Hara: I think they are most effective when they provide support for the people who are already going in the desired direction. It's really difficult to get a legislator to significantly change his or her position, but it is not so hard to help somebody who is already convinced to make a stronger case and thus, perhaps, persuade some of those in the middle. The AACJC has done this and, I might say, has done this at least as successfully as any of the major higher education groups, the land-grant college people, and so forth.

Editors: Given that Congress is going to develop legislation that will affect the community colleges, what additional advice would you give those interested in influencing the direction of that legislation?

O'Hara: Well, I think you will have to take the long view. What you do is find the people in Congress whose philosophies and backgrounds would suggest to you that they might be supportive of the community college concept, if they stopped to think about it. You have to locate the members of Congress who share your vision of higher education, and inspire them to get on the Education and Labor Committee and

its Higher Education subcommittee. Encourage them to become active on behalf of the community college movement. This approach will not yield results overnight, but most members stay on committees for long periods of time and, like myself, become interested in particular matters only over a number of years. The community colleges have an important and attractive concept to promote. There are members of the House and Senate who will be receptive. In fact, Bill Ford [a current representative from the Detroit area] is exactly the kind of individual whom I would target. While our numbers wax and wane, there are always people who believe, as I do, that quality higher education within easy commuting distance of every citizen is good for America—that higher education should be available for the masses, not for just a select few. Of course, it helps, too, if federal support of community colleges is of direct benefit to the district that the legislator represents. And one final thought: Don't underestimate the fundamental power of the interests that community colleges represent. I think there are all kinds of opportunities for institutions of higher education to provide the public with what the public needs and wants, but not if they insist that the public fit into their preconceived molds. The community colleges have done the best job in figuring out what the public wants and providing it. That is their great strength.

James G. O'Hara is a practicing attorney in Washington, D.C., and served as a member of Congress from Michigan's 12th District from 1959 to 1977. He served as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education from 1973 to 1977.

David B. Wolf is former president of Los Angeles Pierce College, Woodland Hills, California.

Mary Lou Zoglin is dean of instruction at Coastline Community College, Fountain Valley, California.

The federal government's role in shaping the curriculum is more influential than is generally recognized.

The Federal Imprint

Terrel H. Bell

To understand how the federal government helps to shape the community college curriculum, one must first of all be knowledgeable about the federal role in education. The future of this nation is closely tied to the capacity of its people to learn, be productive, and be enlightened and active citizens. Therefore, there can be little doubt that the nation's future depends on the effectiveness of our schools and colleges. The current, somewhat limited federal role in education will, in my opinion, expand as leaders in the legislative and executive branches recognize how dependent we are on education in striving to solve our internal problems and continuing to carry our responsibilities as the leading superpower in the free world. In my view, the federal role should be much more extensive than it is. Nevertheless, this discussion of the federal role in shaping the community college curriculum will describe what is and not what ideally should be.

The federal equality-of-opportunity statutes are now largely aimed at promoting equality of educational opportunity. Certain student populations, which have failed in the past to gain the benefits of education, receive categorical financial assistance. Handicapped and disadvantaged people and victims of discrimination are all clients of the federal aid programs enacted by the Congress and administered by the executive branch. Affirmative action—in recruiting students, in placing students in specific educational programs that offer a high probability of

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their future employment, and in offering compensatory education programs that help to make up for the disadvantages caused by past racial discrimination—is part of the federal concern for providing equal opportunity.

Financial Aid

Title III of the Higher Education Act provides financial assistance to institutions of higher learning that tend to admit large numbers of low-income and minority students. Title III, known as the Developing Institutions Program, helps institutions of higher learning strengthen their educational offerings and enhance their capacity to meet the needs of hundreds of thousands of college students who seek low-cost higher learning opportunities. Since community colleges tend to admit students with these backgrounds, many of them qualify for Title III federal financial assistance. For several decades, handicapped adult students have been supported financially to attend community colleges under the provisions of national rehabilitation laws.

The largest amount of federal money appropriated for higher education comes under the student financial assistance programs. These programs provide loans, work-study opportunities, and grants to minority, disadvantaged, and low-income college students who otherwise would have no hope of obtaining education beyond high school. There are both campus-based and direct, federally based student aid programs. The federal policy is to make it possible for all who otherwise might be qualified to attain college degrees or reach other objectives available through higher learning, when the main obstacle is lack of money. The programs are designed to provide federal assistance after the student has made a reasonable effort and after his or her parents have made contributions that are contingent on the family's financial circumstances.

Federal policy tries to allow students to have both access to and choice in higher education. Promising students who have demonstrated considerable academic talent can choose to go to some of the more prestigious and costly private colleges and universities and thereby qualify for more federal money than they would receive if they attended low-tuition, low-cost community colleges or state colleges or universities. All these policies have been structured to promote the federal objective of providing equal opportunity under the law, and this objective includes both choice and access.

Civil Rights Statutes

The many civil rights laws, and other federal statutes designed to provide equal opportunity regardless of gender, race, and ethnic or national origin, have been structured to guide the practices of colleges and universities as they take action to admit students and to offer them

access to various programs. The reach of the civil rights laws has been extended far beyond their earlier purpose of correcting the impact of racial discrimination. Blacks, Hispanics, other racial and ethnic groups, handicapped people, and women have all been included in a very large, protected class of students.

The United States Department of Education is charged with the responsibility of monitoring and enforcing the civil rights laws. Within the department is the Office of Civil Rights, which has enforcement branch offices located in ten different regions across the nation. Employees of this federal office receive complaints from college students and others who believe that they may have been victims of discrimination. Regardless of the apparent merit of a complaint, the Office of Civil Rights must investigate and report on the results of its investigation.

A standing court order, known as the Adams Order, sets schedules within which the Department of Education must respond in taking enforcement action. Moreover, civil rights monitoring groups constantly follow the timeliness of enforcement action and are quick to file complaints with the federal courts if insufficient respect is paid to the Adams Order.

The civil rights enforcement laws, as well as the pressure on the Department of Education to carry out its responsibilities under some very harsh and strict provisions, have an impact on the community college curriculum, either directly or indirectly. These laws affect educational offerings designed to meet the needs of handicapped students, women, minorities, and various other groups. Colleges must offer equal enrollment opportunities in all educational programs, including those that have traditionally prepared students for heavily male-dominated occupations. Females must have equal access to all educational programs, regardless of the attitudes of some traditional thinkers. By the same token, males must have equal access to programs that in the past may have been considered almost exclusively for females.

A community college that has a rich program of activities in athletics, music, debate, drama, and other such lively offerings must ensure that there is no discrimination, either on the basis of gender or on the basis of race and ethnic background. In recent years, mandates coming from the federal government, and emerging either from laws passed by Congress or from federal court orders, have had a profound impact on curricular offerings and educational program management in American community colleges.

Accreditation

Federal student aid programs have resulted in still another federal initiative, which helps to shape the curriculum of the community colleges. To qualify for student aid, an institution must be fully

accredited. When this law was passed, private proprietary institutions began to establish their own accrediting associations. Indeed, some of the associations were creatures of the owners, and their policies were established in a self-serving way, so that the institutions could qualify for federal assistance. To ensure that students would receive instruction that met the federal government's standards of excellence, Congress gave the secretary of education responsibility for reviewing and approving the standards and policies of all accrediting associations. To qualify for participation in the student aid program and in other programs of financial assistance offered by the federal government, an institution must be accredited by an association whose name appears on the federally approved list.

This action placed the United States Department of Education in an arena that previously had been the province of the academic community. Accreditation is still managed by groups of institutions, which set high standards and establish means of determining the extent to which institutions meet them, but the Department of Education now "accredits" the accrediting associations. The curriculum of a community college must be shaped and administered according to the requirements of the accrediting associations. These accrediting associations are periodically reviewed by a national committee appointed by the secretary of education. Thus, the federal government, either directly or indirectly, influences accreditation standards, which in turn have a profound impact on community college curricula.

Evidence of Success

When congressional committees review the results of the programs they have enacted and try to appraise the benefits derived from the funds they have appropriated, the secretary of education and senior staff members are required to show that the policies enacted by Congress have been implemented and that their purposes have largely been accomplished. To persuade Congress to continue providing federal assistance, Department of Education staff members obtain data from the community colleges and present these data to congressional committees. Data on admissions standards, on termination policies, on students' progress, as well as other requirements, have all been demanded by congressional committees. All members of the education community, which includes the Department of Education as well as the institutions of higher learning, work together to provide information that will persuade Congress to continue offering financial aid, either directly or indirectly. Successful testimony before congressional committees, together with procedures for providing supporting data, influence the community college curriculum. Moreover, reports on literacy rates, statistics on job

placement of graduates, and assurances that students are making satisfactory progress are all items of concern to the general public, as well as to Congress.

Study Commissions

The federal government gathers information about citizens' educational attainments. Indeed, the gathering and reporting of information are requirements placed on the Department of Education by congressional mandate. From time to time, study commissions and other investigative bodies are created by action of the executive or the legislative branch of the federal government, and reports of these studies help to shape community college curricula. Other studies, not conducted directly by the federal government but funded by the Department of Education and carried out by other educational organizations, also help to shape curricula. In these cases, the Department of Education's influence on curricula is indirect.

These study commissions, and the press reports and public statements made about them, have a powerful influence on the shape and emphasis of community college curricula. The report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, released in 1983, has had a lasting impact on education in general and on community colleges in particular. This report, widely heralded, started the school reform movement in America. It also led to responses from community colleges, state colleges and universities, and independent institutions of higher learning. After the report was released, a number of follow-up studies on higher education were conducted. Some of these were funded by the Department of Education, and some were funded by foundations and other sources totally independent of the department. All these studies have been influential in changing the emphasis of curricula in community colleges.

In sum, the influence of the federal government on the curricula of community colleges is vast. It stems from numerous sources: student financial aid, grants to institutions, laws, and regulatory activities that may be federally funded and conducted by agencies of the federal government. For good or ill, the federal influence on the shape of the curriculum—past, present, and future—is much more pervasive than most citizens and educational leaders realize.

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This chapter reviews the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) "Putting America Back to Work" campaign.

The AACJC and Curriculum Reform

James F. Gollattscheck

The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC), originally formed in 1920 as the American Association of Junior Colleges, was from the very beginning expected to take a leadership role in developing curricula and being involved in other aspects of the fledgling junior college movement. The number of community, technical, and junior colleges has grown from a handful in 1920 to over 1,200 in 1987, and membership in AACJC has grown from fewer than 30 institutions to over 1,000. The AACJC's most recent mission statement charges the association to lead its member colleges in curriculum development and in other areas as well.

AACJC's Public Policy Agenda

AACJC's public policy agenda is set annually by the board of directors. It includes the goals that the board believes should be of highest priority for the association. These goals are translated into specific activities, and the Association's budget is closely linked to the public policy agenda.

The 1987 AACJC public policy agenda addressed the following issues:

D. B. Woll and M. L. Zoglin (eds.). *External Influences on the Curriculum.*
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- Access to postsecondary education
- Definition, maintenance, and promotion of excellence
- The high school–community college connection
- Design, implementation, and support of special programs and services aimed at helping at-risk populations
- Human resources and economic development
- Development of a curriculum for civic responsibility
- Use of appropriate new technologies for instruction, student services, and administration
- Strengthening of curricula, especially in the humanities, arts, and sciences
- America and the increasingly international economic environment
- Leadership training and professional development.

Clearly, the majority of these goals relate directly or indirectly to the curricula of America's community, technical, and junior colleges.

A Case Study in Leadership

The best way to demonstrate how a national association like AACJC provides leadership in curriculum development is through a case study of a specific issue. One current example is the association's emphasis on curricula that can lead to economic development in member colleges' communities and states.

Goal Setting. In 1979, when the AACJC's board of directors began discussing the need to formulate objectives in this area, America was in the deepest economic downturn since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Unemployment was soaring, businesses were failing, factories were closing, and inflation was at an all-time high. In June 1980, the board adopted a new statement of mission and objectives. One part of the new statement charged the association to offer leadership on a national basis in education for employment and economic development. In 1981, the board developed even more specific goals, including the development of a task force composed of representatives from community colleges, business, and labor. The task force was to follow up on initiatives, formulate recommendations, and help interpret the mission of community colleges to business and labor.

The newly elected president of AACJC immediately put the force of his office behind the implementation of these objectives. Implementation involved studying the economic impact of community colleges on communities, reporting on exemplary practices among community colleges in economic development, and publicizing good practices in employer training.

Plan of Action. By late 1981, AACJC staff members had taken the

board's goal of providing national leadership and developed a plan of action that would determine the activities of the association for several years. The staff developed ideas for a national community college employment, economic development, and training act, which would incorporate aspects of the Vocational Educational Act. The staff also collected, disseminated, and encouraged the exchange of information on community college economic-impact studies. In addition, the staff disseminated information on employer–community college collaborative programs, fostered closer ties among national groups interested in vocational technical education, and encouraged and disseminated information on community colleges' economic development efforts.

"Putting America Back to Work." One of the first steps in implementing the plan was to develop a leadership cadre, the "Putting America Back to Work" task force. Soon afterward, the association published the first of its pocket readers on this topic (Parnell and Yarrington, 1982).

The task force soon called for a visionary commitment to fostering job development and training relevant to economic development. Five principles were designed to initiate and refine legislation affecting economic and human resource development. The task force, in order to put these principles into action, sought funding to support a project and project staff. Thus, in 1982, a $100,000 grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation launched phase one of "Putting America Back to Work." This aspect of the project, known as the Kellogg Leadership Initiative, had three objectives:

- To build a network of public and private organizations committed to the development of a comprehensive, coordinated approach to human resource development as a conscious tool for the nation's economic development
- To shape national strategies and policies relative to economic and human resource development so as to promote a closer tie between the two and ensure a fuller use of all development resources
- To provide practical guidance and technical assistance to local two-year college systems in their development efforts.

"Keeping America Working." Also in 1982, the Association of Community College Trustees (ACCT) began its Business Industry Council Program, and ACCT and AACJC joined forces under the "Putting America Back to Work" banner. The name of the project was later changed to "Keeping America Working," to reflect the much larger training mission of two-year colleges.

A new "Keeping America Working" task force moved quickly to lay the groundwork for an expanded project agenda. A survey of community, technical, and junior college partnerships indicated that while much was being done, there was considerable room for improve-

ment. The task force developed a major new initiative to stimulate partnerships between colleges, on the one hand, and major employers, labor unions, public employers, small employers, and high schools, on the other.

With backing from several funding agencies, the "Keeping America Working" project has created incentives for partnership development. During its six years of activity, the task force has recognized three exemplary college-industry-business partnerships and given them cash awards at the AACJC's annual convention. This recognition has done much to stimulate interest in and give visibility to the partnership issue.

The Sears Partnership Development Fund. In one of the largest grants ever received by AACJC, the Sears-Roebuck Foundation awarded $950,000 over two years to stimulate partnerships through the Partnership Development Fund. This project provides minigrants ($10,000 to $25,000) for pilot projects that support or enhance the development of college and business collaborations. (It is interesting that in the 1985–86 college year, grants totalling $291,000 actually stimulated an additional $1,793,832 of direct project support from local organizations, businesses, banks, and governments.)

AACJC Publications and the Economic Development Thrust. The association's publications provide the most direct and frequent link between the AACJC board, the Washington-based staff, and member colleges. The *Community, Technical, and Junior College Journal* has been published regularly since 1930. In recent years, this journal has focused much of its attention on human resources and economic development. Each year, several issues of the *AACJC Letter* have been devoted to economic development, and examples of successful and innovative partnerships are reported on throughout the year.

The association also publishes monographs, reports, and books. Two books dealing with economic development have been published and circulated widely throughout the field. Day (1985) reported the results of a survey of 770 community, technical, and junior colleges, inquiring about partnership activities. Day's survey revealed that two-thirds of the respondents had already appointed business and industry coordinators on their campuses, three-fourths offered employee training programs for large private sector employers, and about one-third provided employee training programs for major local labor unions. Over three-quarters reported offering training at plants and business sites. The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (1985) identified these individuals in 452 community, technical, and junior colleges across the country by state and by college.

Perhaps the most important publication in AACJC's efforts to help colleges become involved in economic development has been a book

by Parnell (1985). This book explored the need for new and better relationships between community colleges and secondary schools, and it has struck a responsive chord with both secondary school and two-year college leaders.

The AACJC Annual Convention and Economic Development. AACJC conducts a number of meetings, seminars, and workshops and one major annual convention. Some aspects of the convention, such as the overall theme, keynote speakers, the general structure, and special events, are determined by the board and the AACJC staff. In this way, the convention is used to communicate what is considered most important. Most of the convention, however, consists of over two hundred round-table discussions, forums, and workshops presented by member colleges and associated organizations. Thus, the general membership determines much of the content of the annual convention. An annual convention event is the "Keeping America Working" luncheon, where a speaker discusses economic development and awards are presented to outstanding exemplary partnership arrangements.

Video Teleconference. A national video teleconference on the high school–community college connection became part of the association's efforts in 1986. The teleconference was carried live via satellite from Washington, D.C., to some two hundred fifty sites throughout the nation. It is estimated that over ten thousand participants, including college and high school leaders, gathered at community colleges to develop plans for improving this connection. A second national video teleconference on economic development, partially funded by the Tennessee Valley Authority, was scheduled for September 1987.

Results

There are no hard data by which to evaluate the results of the association's involvement with community, technical, and junior colleges in human resource and economic development. Thus, the association can measure its results only in terms of the information it receives from the field and the assessments made by staff and board members as they visit throughout the nation.

Brief descriptions of the 1987 award-winning partnerships will demonstrate the extent to which community colleges have become primary resources for economic development in their communities and states, as well as the extent to which businesses, industry, public employers, and unions have begun to view them in this way.

Greenfield Technical College–Michelin. One of the unique partnerships recognized by the "Keeping America Working" task force in 1987 was between Greenfield Technical College, South Carolina, and the Michelin Corporation. The project represented the first time in South

Carolina that a private corporation and a community college had combined efforts to build a training facility for mutual use. The partnership is a model for maximizing resources by creatively combining the financial resources of a college with those of an industry. The building will be used by Michelin for training courses during the day; at night, the college will offer continuing education classes there. Michelin contributed $500,000 to the total cost of construction, estimated at $800,000. The company also provided all furnishings and equipment, bringing its financial commitment to nearly $1 million.

Triton College and Morton College–Bell Telephone Company. A different kind of partnership exists between Triton College (River Grove, Illinois) and Morton College (Cicero, Illinois) and Illinois Bell Telephone Company. In 1984, the three partners created The Mid-Metro Economic Development Group, Incorporated, a not-for-profit corporation serving west suburban Cook County communities comprised of 500,000 residents and 4,005 businesses. Mid-Metro is a model that brings together such critical partners as commerce, industry, and government in an effort to retain, attract, and expand business activity in the community. As such, Mid-Metro was the first Illinois storefront economic development consortium to include education, business, and local government representation. Mid-Metro is credited with having saved, attracted, or relocated 26 firms involving 3,500 jobs. By comparison with 1985 statistics, the effort represented a fivefold increase in the number of jobs created or retained.

Tyler College–Kelly/Springfield. A third partnership recognized in 1987 was between Tyler Junior College in Tyler, Texas, and Kelly/Springfield, a division of Goodyear Tire and Rubber. In 1984, when Goodyear was forced to decide between closing its one-million-square-foot Tyler factory or converting it to meet the needs of new technology, it decided to stay in Tyler and modernize the plant, largely because the college agreed to provide the required educational assistance. The effort to keep Kelly/Springfield in town is a model demonstration of state and local officials working together for local economic development. In this case, Kelly/Springfield represented 1,400 jobs and $50 million of the local economy. The ripple effects of the industry have consequences for an additional 2,900 jobs, which depend on the survival of the tire and rubber industry. In short, the effort was made for this industry because it had a total statewide economic impact of $407 million annually. While many people were involved, Tyler Junior College played the key organizing role in maintaining the economic viability of its eastern Texas community.

Conclusions

The partnerships just described here are typical of hundreds under way between industries, businesses, labor unions, public employers,

governments, and other organizations, on the one hand, and community, technical, and junior colleges, on the other. The visible public aspects of such partnerships are only the tip of the iceberg, however. Every such partnership requires tremendous flexibility with regard to curriculum reform and development on the part of the college, as well as a willingness to move away from traditional educational and curricular patterns.

It is safe to say that the AACJC, with all the activities now under way and in the planning stages, has more than met its goal of providing vigorous national leadership in education for employment and economic development. In the area of economic development, the curricula of American community, technical, and junior colleges have been changed significantly, and the leadership of the national association has been a major factor in that change.

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The influence of state legislators derives from their fiscal responsibility.

The Gordon Rule: A State Legislator Fulfills His Responsibility

Jack D. Gordon

Faculty and administrators at all levels of education take a very dim view of legislators' directing them how to run their respective institutions. Their response is not appreciably different from that of workers in any other governmental entity over which a state legislature has some control. Within the academic community, such legislative direction is often characterized as an affront to professionalism or as a threat to academic freedom.

Legislators involve themselves in the operations of education primarily because of fiscal responsibility. This is particularly true in Florida, where community colleges rely wholly on state appropriations and tuition, both of which are largely determined by the legislative appropriations process. The budget for the state's community college system, as well as the basis of distribution to individual institutions, are expressed in considerable detail in the state's General Appropriations Act. That budget is the major policy document of the state. Annual scrutiny of it inevitably leads to questions involving the operation of institutions.

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In a community college, as in all educational institutions, there are four main interest groups: faculty, administrators, students, and the public. Most discussions about community colleges revolve around the institutional desires of administrators and the faculty. Both groups claim that their interests lie only in promoting the good of students or of the general public, but experience has shown time and again that many such claims do not hold up under scrutiny. The constituencies of legislators include far more students, parents, and taxpayers than faculty or administrators, and so it should surprise no one that lawmakers demand to know in detail how public money is being spent.

Educators have long shown the same mindset as the military: "Don't ask how much it costs. Take our word for it that it's absolutely necessary." Unfortunately, the state of Florida cannot approach the problem in this way, because of a constitutional requirement for a balanced state budget. (It would certainly be a better society if schools were overfunded and the military had to hold a bake sale to buy a cruise missile; we haven't educated people to believe that, however.) Therefore, because of finite tax revenues and a requirement to spend only within that amount, legislators are continuously motivated to ask precise questions about how every dollar is spent.

Higher Education in Florida

Florida has one of the larger community college systems in the nation, with twenty-eight colleges on seventy-two campuses and an enrollment of 645,609 students. Of these, 180,823 are first- or second-year college students, 156,800 are vocational, 52,802 are preparatory (remedial), and 255,184 are noncredit or avocational. As is consistent with national trends, most of the students attend part-time, and their age averages about twenty-five. The colleges range in size from about 3,000 students at smaller institutions to over 43,000 at giant Miami-Dade.

During the colleges' greatest expansion, Florida's educational planners waxed eloquent over their supposedly cost-saving "two plus two" system. Most students took their first two years at public community colleges (the designated primary points of entry into Florida's higher education system) and the remaining two at state universities. The articulation between lower and upper divisions was mandated by law, so that anyone who graduated from a community college with an associate degree had to be accepted for transfer into a state university. The proliferation of open-door campuses in a rapidly growing state prompted lawmakers to create four so-called upper-division universities to provide further educational opportunities for community college graduates.

Community and legislative demand have since transformed those four institutions into full four-year universities with emerging graduate

programs and selectively limited lower-division populations. The evolution of the new four-year institutions has created considerable tension between community colleges in Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, and Pensacola, where there are also upper-division universities. Competing claims of all these institutions that each is the best route for students resulted from enrollment-driven funding formulas. Given a limited budget that must be balanced, as well as colleges that scramble for students so that they can justify their funding, it is not surprising that legislators question basic assumptions about educational institutions. Legislators, as budget writers, are finally held accountable for the division of resources, and their opinions of the educational community in the larger scheme of things will control their decisions on policy matters.

The Accountability Movement

Usually, legislative influence on curriculum changes is viewed and much publicized as an attempt to expose (or, more often, not to expose) students to some material that is alleged to be inherently evil or inherently good. Such attempts are generally accomplished in an unsophisticated way that has little credibility in an educated community. Other circumstances, however—such as legislative concern with a college's view of its mission or with the manner in which the educational process is being carried out—also lead to mandated curriculum change.

In the past decade or so, the so-called accountability movement has enjoyed great acceptance. In Florida, it has led to a great deal of testing, traditionally used to determine progress. While tests may be necessary, they also manifest a tendency on the part of some policymakers to believe that anything that can be expressed numerically must be correct and proper. Testing, however, is the ultimate method of dehumanization—the reduction of a person to a number.

When questions were raised concerning the adequacy of community college students' preparation for upper-division work, there was a strong movement to subject them to readiness tests. The next logical question was "How do we know that the lower divisions at the universities are doing a proper job of preparation?" The legislature decided that if "two plus two" was to be maintained with full articulation between public community colleges and universities, then it was reasonable to require students to pass a uniform test in communications and computation before they could be admitted to the junior year. Determination of passing scores on the four-part College Level Academic Skills Test (CLAST) was left to the state board of education.

Personally, I do not think a common examination is a good means of determining a student's readiness for the junior year. CLAST is better

than nothing at all, however, since the student does have to demonstrate some portion of what he or she knows. Because the legislation was broad in its mandate to the state board, I hoped that some better common processes, other than tests, might be chosen as measurements of readiness. After all, education is a process—a never ending one, if you will—and it is harmful to think of education as synonymous with small sequences of information, or of a college education as merely the sum of credits earned toward a degree. My interest was in how that tax-funded academic experience might be used in later life, not only for economic benefit but also for the good of one's chosen community.

Adoption of the Gordon Rule

The state board of education in Florida is composed of the governor and six other officials who are elected statewide. Although Florida has several tiers of educational governance, this body is the only one with rulemaking authority over both the community colleges and the universities. State law permits individual citizens to petition a rulemaking authority to promulgate a rule. Using this provision, I petitioned the board to adopt a rule that would require every student in the first two years of college to take twelve hours of course work in English and/or the humanities, provided that each of the four three-hour courses required written work of six thousand words, and to take six hours of college-level mathematics. The rule was later modified to permit an institution to provide an alternative plan that would accomplish the same goal, provided that it met with the state board's approval.

Catalogue research in advance of my filing what has become the Gordon Rule showed that it was possible for a student to travel the academic curriculum in some institutions without ever writing an essay beyond what was required in freshman English and without ever taking a mathematics course. Those facts had many policymakers asking questions about quality. Again, the question reverts to the priorities of faculty and administrators. Unlike university faculty, community college instructors are not required to do research and publish in addition to teaching. With no responsibility other than teaching, the claim of "lack of time" can no longer be made. There is really no excuse for depriving students of any instruction in writing, which is a time-honored way of teaching critical analysis (or higher-order thinking skills, as the latest jargon seems to have it).

My feeling throughout the process was that I, as a citizen, should not have to set honest educational priorities for the colleges and universities. Unfortunately, however, no administrators or governing boards were doing it. Neither educational administrators nor faculty seemed very concerned about the unacceptable results of their work.

Therefore, it seemed appropriate for me to express my priorities before the proper decision makers and to stimulate public debate on setting better directions.

The initial hearing before the state board was a two-and-a-half-hour philosophical debate. Several community college administrators gave "convenience" reasons for not adopting the rule. An equal number of university English and math chairs provided testimony supporting it in concept, and the chancellor of the state university system opposed the rule as an assault on academic freedom. It would, she said, prevent the state's ongoing efforts to improve the quality of the state university system (SUS), efforts whose thrust was to bring well-known academics to Florida institutions. I responded that the academics would more likely be turned off by having to teach illiterates than by having to heed such a requirement. The rule was deferred at the end of the hearing, but the governor pointed out that this was the first time in his five years as board chairman that the state board had ever taken any time—let alone two and a half hours—to discuss a fundamental educational question.

All in all, the hearing was an interesting confrontation among the public, administrators, and faculty on the essential role and responsibility of educational institutions. The fourth interest group—the students—indirectly involved themselves during a later hearing through a letter-writing campaign against a tuition hike. Unfortunately for their cause, this action provided firsthand evidence of their lack of writing skills and furnished one of the strongest arguments for the Gordon Rule.

It took two more hearings and much negotiation before the Gordon Rule was finally adopted. After the second hearing, the governor attempted to block the rule's imminent passage by referring it to the newly created Postsecondary Education Planning Commission (PEPC), a lay advisory board for higher education issues. PEPC recommended approval (with compromise language) and sent the issue back to the state board. After nearly a year's debate, the board adopted the rule by a vote of six to one, with only the governor dissenting.

The compromise language recommended by PEPC permitted institutions to submit alternative plans that would require the state board's approval. The SUS promptly announced that it would not seek any exceptions to the rule; nevertheless, one university later did. About half the community colleges submitted alternative plans, which in the main dealt only with the English requirements.

The alternative plans usually spread the writing requirement to other courses while reducing the English writing requirement—such as three thousand words in English, with the remaining three thousand divided equally between psychology and political science. Since freshmen and sophomores had to take these courses anyway, the rule had the unintended effect of forcing some instructors in the humanities and the

social sciences, and perhaps some in English, to assign written work, which they previously had not done.

Results of the Gordon Rule

If we look at the results so far from the imposition of the Gordon Rule, the first is that students are writing more and spending more time on the task. I consider this an improvement. I doubt that very many people, even in academic administration, would disagree with me. Some complaints have come from persons who say that requiring bad writers to do more writing only reinforces students' bad writing. I doubt that, since the increased fluency alone that comes from practice should be of significant benefit.

Second, while no real analysis has been done, to my knowledge, of what students are not taking now that they were taking before, I can only hope that some of the less rigorous courses have gone by the board.

The third result is disappointing. I have not seen any significant reexamination of educational values in the community colleges, and I have seen very little in the universities. As an outsider, it seems to me that, having been challenged successfully on one basic facet of running their institutions, administrators and faculty should be motivated to undertake further self-examination. They should be asking, "Why did this happen? How did we permit our standards to slide?" Instead, the major administrative response has been to say, "We need more money for more teachers"; in many cases, however, administration did not use the money they received for that purpose. What really appalls me is that the administrators themselves did not initiate discussions within their own institutions about what they were doing, nor did they confer with their faculty, their students, or the high schools, which provide a major student population, to see if they ought to do some things better.

One reason for the lack of serious response lies in the economics of the system. Community colleges with students who are deficient in English, for example, rarely consider going to the students' high schools to report the failure of the high schools' graduates to use English adequately. What is more likely is that the community colleges consider that all the deficient students create an opportunity for expansion into remedial work. Divisions of remedial (or, as it is called, developmental) education are created, and they require more deans and department heads and a whole group of other positions. Unfortunately, that is considered to be a better response than helping high schools do a better job of preparing their students for college.

Conclusion

My experience in creating the Gordon Rule has confirmed my feeling that educational administrators are by and large technicians, not

philosophers. I think, obviously, that philosophers would do better than technicians in these kinds of positions. I have occasionally told higher education faculty that they sealed their own fate on the day when they permitted doctorates in educational administration to be conferred by their universities. That, to me, signaled the departure of scholarship from administrative positions. It also provided a significant number of well-paid jobs that became permanent positions, in contrast to the rotating academic administration that was typical sixty or seventy years ago. Nevertheless, this is no time to bring back purely academically trained people, since today they may be quite as narrow as (or even narrower than) typical administrators. There is a strong case to be made for choosing administrators from integrative disciplines—from philosophy, or from elsewhere in the humanities—to provide leadership based on a sense of the whole.

Education is organized in a compartmentalized fashion, and students' success is measured by their ability to swallow, with a smile, small doses of learning from a variety of different bottles. Thus, students are dependent on the persons in charge of the enterprise to see that there is a proper mix of bottles, and that their education clearly prepares them for real life, where many different bottles are opened and their contents are inextricably intermixed.

Look at some of the things happening in the world, and at what terrible things are going on. People are buying more and more guns to preserve their own peace and meanwhile shooting one another. The country is buying more and more guns to preserve its own peace and meanwhile making the world more dangerous as the guns pile up. The communal spirit seems to be dying, and people are accepting little or no responsibility for their actions. Corporations continue to try to poison the environment, and a whole variety of things are happening in the name of technological progress that are deeply dehumanizing. All of these circumstances result at least partly from an educational system so compartmentalized that we never really learn to take the broader results of whatever we are doing into account. The heads of institutions of higher education have to take measures to help change the way people think, and they need to do it both within and outside the institutions. If they do not, there is no question that somebody will come along with a computer program or a videotape that will do away with the necessity for the institutions. Someone may even come along with a pill that will implant all of Shakespeare's plays into people's heads. At that point, we will need neither an English department nor a Gordon Rule. The fact that, at the moment, these things turn up only in science fiction does not mean that they are not logical extensions of what we are doing. I hope that in some of those classes where students have to write six thousand words, they are also being asked to look at these questions.

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Experience in California highlights state legislators' responsibility to communicate their clear expectations of community colleges' mission.

California's $30 Million Course Cuts

Gerald C. Hayward

"Uh-oh, here they come now—the Macramé Mafia." These were the words of greeting uttered by the governor of California in 1979 just before a meeting on the issue of community college finance. This was hardly an auspicious debut, but it was only barely indicative of the long and sustained turmoil that embroiled the California community colleges over the next several years, largely centered on local curricular decisions. The battlefield would be the community college curriculum, and the issue would be an extension of the old question of who pays how much for what, which has helped focus public policy analysis for years. Several circumstances coalesced to place the fairly arcane subject of community college curriculum high on the priority list of the governor and the state legislature.

The issues were complex, and the jargon is confusing. For the purposes of this chapter, it is important for the reader to understand that California's community colleges have a long and carefully nurtured history of local control. These institutions, emerging (as most of them did) from within existing high school districts into a system of little or no effective state coordination, and depending heavily on local property taxes for revenue, were rarely seen as "big-ticket" items by either the state legislature or the governor. This governance phenomenon meant that

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community colleges could in fact be just that—colleges for the community. This also meant that the colleges and their curricula were destined to be as diverse as the 106 communities in which they were situated.

Historically, community college funding in California has been based on the rate of average daily attendance generated by students enrolling in college courses, both credit and noncredit. Credit courses are considered to be at the college level, while noncredit courses fall into a category often designated as adult or continuing education. Credit and noncredit courses alike are supported by a combination of state and local taxes; a third group of primarily recreational and avocational courses are known as community services courses and are supported by a combination of local taxes and user fees.

While a large portion of the funds supporting credit and noncredit courses was derived from the state's general revenue sources, decisions about which courses fell into which of these three categories were made almost exclusively by the local colleges, with a modicum of state guidance.

As a result, different colleges interpreted the vague statutes and used their local autonomy in ways that uniquely suited and benefited their own local constituencies. These interpretations were often at odds with the interpretations of other districts and with what was perceived by state policymakers to be in the state's interest. For example, a course in calligraphy might have been offered legally by three different colleges in three different modes. College A might have defined it as a college-level art course eligible for full public funding. College B might have determined that it was not a college-level course but that it could appropriately be offered in the noncredit mode, so that it would still be eligible for state funds. College C might have concluded that calligraphy was primarily recreational and avocational and was therefore a community service not eligible for any state support.

Who Benefits? Who Pays?

The last ten years have seen a battle royal over this topic, and the outcomes have permanently transformed both the governance structure and the curriculum of the California community colleges. In 1978, the voters of California overwhelmingly passed the Jarvis-Gann initiative, the infamous Proposition 13. Passage of Proposition 13 had three major impacts. First, it reduced property taxes and, therefore, the revenues available for state and local services. Second, it virtually eliminated the ability of local agencies (including community colleges) to tax themselves, even with the overwhelming approval of local voters. Third, as a result of the first two effects, it created a massive shift in the locus of community colleges' and other local entities' control, from locally elected

school boards and their respective constituencies to the state and its constituency. Therefore, on three very important dimensions, Proposition 13 changed the California landscape in a massive and sustained way. It was now no longer possible for local community college districts to determine, as they once had, the level of per-student funding or even the maximum number of students eligible for funding. No longer could local boards raise general college income by levying higher property taxes, even through local votes, and no longer could the boards levy specific local taxes to subsidize their community services courses.

In addition, and at least partially because of Proposition 13, California public agencies were hit by another round of tax-cutting fervor, which almost equaled the long-range impacts of the original measure. The most significant example of this fervor was income tax indexing, which further reduced the state's revenues. Finally, the early 1980s found California's revenues cut by an economic recession, which turned out to be of longer duration and deeper magnitude than even the most astute economists had projected.

Clearly, then, California's community colleges faced a triple whammy: reduced total revenues, powerlessness to raise local revenues, and increased centralization of power as an inevitable consequence of the first two circumstances.

A second dimension of the "who pays" question concerns the appropriate contribution of the individual who benefits from an educational experience. In most states (and, in fact, in the other two segments of higher education in California), it clearly has been decided that the student, as beneficiary of a service, will pay at least a portion of the costs of his or her higher education. Still, there has always been a commitment to keeping community colleges' tuition free and to keeping fees low. This commitment was embraced with almost religious fervor, and any attempts to increase any fees were seen by free-tuition advocates as threats to this overarching principle.

Clearly, these are ultimately political questions: Who benefits and who pays are whoever the legislature and the governor say benefits and pays. If there were any underlying philosophical or economic underpinnings of this issue before 1978, they disappeared with the enactment of Proposition 13's implementing legislation, which determined that local taxes would be partially replaced by state revenues, and that no new tuition or fees would be imposed. In responding to the dilemma of who pays and who benefits, the state, by this action, essentially answered by saying, "Beats the hell out of me."

How Much? For What?

The California community colleges' finances, even before the passage of Proposition 13, could hardly be characterized as stable. The

state, buffeted about by a number of school finance issues, was constantly revising its finance formulas as economic and social pressures ebbed and flowed. At the time of Proposition 13's passage, the finance mechanism provided essentially equal dollar funding for each unit of average daily attendance generated by quite different programs. Thus, a class in cake decorating offered by districts that claimed it as a credit course received the same dollars per hour of class time as a vocational course in welding or an academic course in calculus. State policymakers soon began to answer the question of "how much," as it relates to cake decorating, with a curt "too much!"

The policy regarding which courses should be funded and by whom was about as clear as mud. This issue becomes particularly important for policymakers when demands for public services are high and revenues are low. Both situations existed in California, and community colleges were about to come under more scrutiny than they had ever imagined possible. Many were unprepared to deal with it.

Rumblings of Discontent

In 1979, the legislature directed California's office of the chancellor, the agency responsible for community college coordination, to conduct a study and prepare policy recommendations on the delineation of credit and noncredit classes. This directive was the legislature's initial attempt to grasp the problem. An advisory panel, consisting of highly respected community college leaders in the state, was convened. Its work culminated in 1980 with a report that clarified the definitions of credit and noncredit courses and recommended the establishment of a uniform course classification system. The state's board of community college governors formally adopted the new system in 1981, over the vocal objections of the strongest advocates of local control. The legislature simultaneously began to apply increased pressure to the colleges by requiring them to use the new system in reporting all course offerings and activities.

Even during this early period, it was clear to all but the most obtuse observers that the state government was deeply and persistently interested both in what was being offered in the community colleges and in who was paying for it. The state chancellor, the board of governors, the California Postsecondary Education Commission, legislators, legislative staff members, and the governor and his staff all were sending very explicit signals that the system had to change. The only real questions were the precise nature of the changes and where the locus of decision would be. Most state leaders hoped that local districts would respond by making the necessary changes voluntarily, thereby precluding the necessity of direct state intervention. In all truth, many local districts

did just that. Local boards have local constituencies, however, and the popular avocational and recreational classes proved difficult to excise. More important, especially in times of economic stringency, these courses were profitable: The revenues they generated exceeded their costs.

The results of the course classification mandated by the legislature did little to quiet community college critics. Out of half a billion hours of annual instruction, over half (52 percent) were in courses classified as liberal arts and science offerings for baccalaureate degrees, and 35 percent of the total contact hours were in occupational courses designed to provide students with skills. Nevertheless, the critics focused on the portion of the report that revealed that approximately 19 percent of the credit hours were generated by courses in physical education and in the fine and applied arts. Many viewed this concentration as an imbalance in the community college curriculum.

At the same time that it was scrutinizing curriculum, the legislature was also coming face to face with a potentially even more explosive issue: tuition for these historically tuition-free institutions. As part of its deliberations on this subject, the legislature directed the California Postsecondary Education Commission to prepare an impact report on tuition charges as they would affect access to public postsecondary education. The commission's report noted, among other things, the concentration of about one-fifth of state-funded credit hours in physical education and art courses, a concentration already found by the advisory panel. The report recommended that noncredit courses be funded at a reduced and uniform rate throughout the state. State apportionments were to be reduced, to reflect the savings expected from the elimination of state support for recreational and avocational courses and from the reduction of support for noncredit courses. The report called for a total reduction in state support for community colleges of $30 million. To place that figure in context, the reader should know that $30 million represented slightly over 2 percent of total community college revenues. Lest the reader wonder if 2 percent of the typical college's budget is really so important, he or she should realize that in the fiscal year under discussion, community colleges were to receive no money for cost-of-living adjustments (in an era of double-digit inflation) and no money for growth. Moreover, this reduction came only three years after a 15 percent across-the-board reduction in community college budgets that was directly attributable to Proposition 13.

Action

It is one thing to call for the deletion of $30 million worth of avocational, recreational, and personal development classes, but it is quite another to actually implement the reductions. Not only was this a

difficult undertaking, it also had to be accomplished in a remarkably short time. The 1982–83 fiscal year budget was approved by the governor in June of 1982. Fall college classes were to begin in late August or early September. The board of governors of the community colleges had less than a month to implement this historic and dramatic change. Colleges had already hired staff and published class schedules for the fall. In many cases, they had preregistered students for classes, some of which would soon lose their funding. There had already been multiple signals and early warnings from the state capitol, of course, but only the most callous observers could feel sanguine about the impact of changes of this magnitude, which had to be brought about in such a short time.

Criteria. To determine which courses were to be defunded, the first step was to establish criteria that would take into account both the state's intent and the colleges' plight. The staff of the chancellor's office, in consultation with a broadly based advisory group, developed four criteria for determining which courses would be deleted. These courses were defined as avocational, recreational, self-help, and personal development courses; offerings that were not consistent with the mission of the community colleges; courses in which students enrolled for significantly greater private than public interest and that also appeared to have been designed to serve private rather than public interest; and courses in which people who were not regular students could enroll for self-help, avocational, or recreational purposes, and for which it would be more appropriate to charge fees.

Establishing the List. The chancellor's staff was directed to convert its four criteria into a preliminary list of courses that would no longer be eligible for state funding and that, if offered, would henceforth be supported by student fees. During this critical phase, virtually every group with any significant stake in the outcome of these discussions was solicited for advice, and the impact of the reductions was simulated on a representative sample of thirteen districts. The focus of the consultation process was essentially twofold. First, the chancellor's office was committed to doing the best possible job under extremely trying circumstances and wanted to have the broadest possible understanding of the criteria and their local effects. It was vital for college representatives, even though they might be opposed to the whole concept, to have the sense that the process was basically fair and that the criteria were evenly and uniformly applied. Second, it was important for college representatives to be widely involved, so that they would develop an understanding of the complexity of the task and ultimately realize that the list was not arbitrary but had some intellectual coherence.

The preliminary list was disseminated and widely discussed at statewide meetings of college administrators and academic senate officials. Representative faculty groups from the hard-hit areas of

physical education, fine arts, and home economics had an especially important role in these deliberations.

The simulations on the thirteen original districts yielded the first good news-bad news scenario. Comparison of courses that were logical candidates for reduction with courses offered the previous year revealed that large numbers of questionable courses had already been shifted to the fee-based mode. The bad news was that, as a result, less questionable courses had to be added to the list so that the $30 million target could be reached. Although the chancellor's office had argued to the legislature that the $30 million figure was arbitrary, that battle was in fact lost. This was a textbook case of circumstances in which public policy decisions regarding curricula succumb to financial rather than educational considerations.

The chancellor's staff did a remarkable job of estimating, and members recommended a list of course reductions that would yield almost precisely the $30 million called for by the legislature. This "hit list," as it became widely if not affectionately known, included courses ranging from yoga and karate to conversational Arabic and Swedish, and from securities investment to concert and theater appreciation.

Impact

As in most abrupt policy changes, there were a variety of impacts, some positive and some negative. The major impacts can be categorized in the following ways.

Fiscal Impact. As expected, implementation of the cuts had widely variable impacts on the districts. For colleges that had traditionally offered few of the recreational and avocational courses, and for those that had recently moved courses to the fee-based mode, the negative impact was negligible. For colleges that had ignored the warning signals and continued to believe that the state would not follow through with punitive action, the deletions had substantial negative impacts and, in some cases, were nothing short of catastropic. The range of revenue loss was dramatic. For example, Gavilan College had a reduction of a little more than one-half of 1 percent (less than $30,000), while the three colleges of the Coast Community College District lost over 6 percent of their total revenues (a whopping $4 million). Coming on the heels of other cuts in income, these reductions had a sizable impact on the colleges.

Political Perception. The existence of the so-called recreational and avocational courses in such large numbers had proved to be an albatross around the neck of the colleges in the budget debates of the post-Proposition 13 era. Transcripts of committee and floor debates were replete with negative phrases: "Mickey Mouse" courses, "underwater

basketweaving," "macramé," "belly dancing," and my personal favorite, "Getting Inside Your Pet's Head." All the many good things the colleges did were tainted by the broad brush of these low-priority expenditures. The implementation of the course classification system did show that these recreational courses existed in far smaller numbers than the legislature had originally perceived, but there is no question that their continued existence made it extremely difficult to justify new state expenditures for community colleges in a time of relative fiscal stringency. The removal of these courses from state support did much to excise this issue from the community college agenda and to move public debate about funding to a higher and more educationally sound plane. As painful as the process was, the long-term result was a curriculum that the legislature would be more willing to support.

Governance. This dramatic legislative action made it abundantly clear that the shift of funding—from local districts to state sources, in the wake of Proposition 13—had far-reaching effects on college governance. Although the legislature had previously avoided curricular decisions, it was now clear that nothing was sacrosanct when the allocation of scarce state resources was at stake. The internal incremental change process, normally at work in institutions of higher education, can be abruptly overridden when tough financial decisions rise to the top of the political agenda. The problem in California was exacerbated by early resistance to any form whatsoever of state intervention, even the establishment of a course classification system. This resistance to change really only delayed resolution of the problem and created a climate in which drastic change was virtually inevitable.

Community College Mission. The existence of state-funded recreational and avocational courses in the curriculum created an inappropriate emphasis on these rather inessential aspects of the community college mission. At precisely the time when the board of governors and local districts should have been focusing on other issues—access, the quality of the transfer program, and the effectiveness of the vocational program, for example—energies were diverted to less productive topics, such as what constitutes an avocational course. This deflection of attention slowed necessary improvements in the other, more significant, portions of the community college mission, and these should have been addressed.

Access. The defunding of certain courses had an interesting and convoluted impact on the general notion of access to community colleges. On the one hand, charging fees for what had once been free meant that in some instances those who were least able to pay would have limitations placed on their access to the courses that had been defunded. On the other hand, studies by the chancellor's office on the characteristics of students most likely to be enrolled in recreational and avocational

courses showed unequivocally that they tended to be older, better educated, and wealthier than the general student population. Even more important, in the short run at least, the $30 million reduction delayed by two years the imposition of a general tuition, which at the time of the original defunding would have resulted in a larger negative impact on access.

Conclusion

One can argue the merits of the results of defunding in California, but few would support the manner in which these decisions were made. It is unfortunate that the state—in this case, the legislature, the governor, and the state board of governors—had to be involved in determining which courses could be offered by locally elected community college trustees. (These courses could still be offered if supported by student fees, of course, but the cost of most of them turned out to be higher than the market would bear.) It is even more unfortunate that the decisions had to be made so quickly. The short time available gave colleges little opportunity to adjust and to adapt their curricula to their personnel and budgetary constraints. That such an unprecedented action could have taken place was due to several characteristics of community colleges in California in the first half of the 1980s.

First, there were no clear lines of authority. Historically, community colleges and their curricula, because of their traditional reliance on local revenue sources, were not given clear direction by the legislature. To read the California statutes, review annual state budgets, and examine community college finances would convince even the most skeptical among us that the legislature had an unclear picture of what it expected community colleges to be and to do. The section of the statutes that establishes the board of governors is a perfect example of the mixed messages sent by the legislature. It states that the board of governors is to provide state leadership in matters of curriculum while at all times providing for the maximum amount of local control—hardly a clear line of authority.

Second, the statutes are replete with examples of unclarity about the mission of the colleges. It could be argued that the community colleges alone among all the segments of California higher education were entitled to be more or less what they wanted to be. They were authorized to be higher education academic institutions, and they were charged with the responsibility of being the major providers of lower-division instruction in the state. They were at the same time authorized to be vocational and technical institutions, and they were charged with being the major providers of entry-level job training. They were also authorized to be so-called high schools for adults, and they were expected

to be major providers of high school-level education to the adult populace. If there was anything left over to be done, it was amply covered by the most general charge of all: to offer community services courses and activities to meet special local needs. It should be emphasized that, until the condition of the budget forced the establishment of new priorities, the legislature was willing to provide funds, directly or indirectly, for the colleges to be all things to all people. College leaders took full advantage of this wonderful opportunity. Acting on their beliefs that education is a good thing and more education is a better thing, they provided a range of educational opportunities for the populace of California at a rate and with an enthusiasm arguably unprecedented in the history of any other society at any time. To borrow a phrase from the high school reform literature, some community colleges became "educational shopping malls." They did all this with at least the implicit blessing of a benevolent but uninvolved legislature.

What went wrong? I think that what went wrong and ultimately led to the kinds of actions described here is that community colleges were really just too good at what they did. They offered marvelous opportunities, at such a rate and with such missionary zeal that the state could not keep up with them. State policymakers had no clear idea of what they were purchasing with taxpayers' money. California's community colleges simply outstripped public support for what they were about.

Here is the real lesson of defunding: Public institutions ultimately depend for their support on the public's willingness to pay for their services. As the colleges moved away from their central mission of lower-division and vocational instruction, they also inadvertently moved away from what the general populace would be willing to support when resources were scarce. Politics can be variously defined; for our purposes, however, the most salient function of the political system is the allocation of scarce resources. Community colleges simply could not pass the public test of relevance when they were offering courses seen as providing mainly private rather than public benefit. It is impossible to explain to a legislator why the state ought fund a community college course in cake decorating, rather than expand opportunities for child care or build prisons or clean up toxic wastes or reduce class sizes for students in the primary grades. Colleges did begin to remove marginal courses from the state funding base immediately after adoption of the course classification system, but this fact became irrelevant in the public eye as long as there were any colleges at all that could and did continue to offer the tainted courses.

The message is clear: The state has the responsibility at the outset to make explicit what it expects of any public sector enterprise, and to make adequate funding available for the expected services. California is in the midst of that process right now as it reviews its master plan for

higher education. It has the opportunity to make explicit what the state's expectations are for this vital segment of higher education. I trust it will do just that.

The message for community colleges is equally straightforward: They can ill afford to neglect the centrality of their mission. As they move away from the core mission—for what may be short-term financial gains, or to fulfill their own commitments to educational opportunity—they must realize that they tread on treacherous ground. They must keep one eye on the needs and desires of their local clients and the other on their ultimate constituents, the general taxpaying public. In doing so, they will risk some of that scarce and precious commodity, local control; but not to do so may mean that they risk it all.

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With the public demanding greater accountability in higher education, it may be time to acknowledge a role for decision makers outside academia in developing curriculum.

Curriculum as Public Policy

Lee R. Kerschner

The firm belief that curriculum development and other academic issues belong in the hands of the faculty is alive and well in California, as it is around the nation. It is easy to make the argument that only the faculty have the necessary background and experience to decide such matters, and that for others to interfere is at best foolhardy and at worst futile. In fact, the mystique of academia frequently intimidates anyone who even argues that others have a role to play. In short, faculty control of academic issues is an ideal difficult to dispute.

Nevertheless, that ideal is being tempered by political reality in California, where public demand for higher quality, greater accountability, and increased efficiency in postsecondary education has prompted a hard look at the inner workings of the community colleges, the University of California, and the California State University—the state's three public postsecondary segments. The result may well be a tacit alliance between faculty and public policymakers in the development of curriculum as a tool to implement changes in public postsecondary education. The testing ground for this alliance is the current review of California's master plan for higher education.

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Reviewing the Master Plan

Once in a great while, someone comes along with a long-range plan that works, without the necessity of continuous tinkering and reshaping due to unforeseen flaws and unachievable visions. California's master plan for higher education is one of these plans, and it has served the state remarkably well since its adoption in 1960.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the master plan is the basic principle that there should be three public postsecondary segments and that there is no need for extensive duplication among them. The state's adoption of this principle is significant, because it affirms public support for three diverse postsecondary options and recognizes that each segment of the system has a distinct role in educating the citizenry and a special expertise to apply in playing that role. In two previous reviews of the master plan, this principle was retained, and the same fundamental missions were reaffirmed for each segment.

In recent years, however, many factors have tugged and pushed at the boundaries around each segment's mission. Nowhere were these pressures more keenly felt than in the community colleges, the state's largest, lowest-cost, and most accessible segment. In the late 1970s, pressures percolated to the surface, calling attention to a whole series of problems that demanded resolution.

Proposition 13, the 1978 tax-cutting initiative that shifted funding of many local services like the community colleges from the local property tax base to the state's general fund, as well as declining enrollment among people eighteen to twenty-four, created an economic crisis for the colleges. Since their funding was enrollment-based, they began to reach out for new enrollments to generate more state funding. Changing demographics sparked new growth in and demand for remedial education, English as a second language, and vocational training. Entrepreneurial aggressiveness in several districts resulted in the establishment of many new state-funded community service offerings that are less academic than they are targeted to hobbies or special interests within communities. Together, these and other major changes made the relationship of community college programs to the segment's original mission seem increasingly hazy, and the highly competitive state budget process began to suffer a corresponding lack of focus. State policymakers, accustomed to using the test of mission to help them allocate limited budget dollars, became concerned that the colleges were redefining their mission of open access to mean that they should provide all things to all people. Clearly, this was contrary to the master plan's original concept of a distinct mission of lower-division and vocational education for the community colleges.

Eventually, these concerns, coupled with the lack of systemwide

leadership, gave rise to the establishment of the current Master Plan Commission, although by a somewhat circuitous route. The political focus was on the community colleges, but many felt that the two-year institutions could not be reviewed or reformed outside the context of the University of California and the California State University systems. To do so might have eroded the basic philosophy that all three segments are necessary, and that all are linked so closely that one cannot be considered and revised without potential impact on the other two. Hence, the legislature and the governor created the California Commission for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education and directed it to study the community colleges first.

The commission, a temporary blue-ribbon group whose mandate expired in 1987, was composed of sixteen members. Many of the commissioners are laypeople with little direct experience in educational policymaking, and the commissioners did not see their role as intervening in the determination of curriculum. In fact, they decided explicitly to consider issues in their broadest policy sense, believing that questions of implementation would be best settled in the institutions themselves, and that curriculum as implementation of state policy should rest with the academic senates. Certainly, they considered themselves unprepared to make curriculum decisions.

Among the first policy decisions was a reaffirmation of the community colleges' mission of open access, with one new component: success. Clearly, it was important to have a low-cost, high-quality system that was open to all Californians who could benefit from instruction. Such a system opened doors to employment, to other postsecondary educational opportunities, and to greater citizen participation in the community as a whole—all effects that would be beneficial both to individuals and to society. The commission believed, however, that such a system would be highly suspect if it could not identify clear goals for its programs, clear expectations of its students, and criteria to measure success in meeting those goals and fulfilling those expectations. In other words, without students' success, the goal of open access was a charade.

These goals and expectations were necessarily issues of state policy. A mission of open access combined with success begged two questions: Access to what and for what purpose? What is success? The commissioners believed they should suggest answers to those questions, for two reasons. First, education in California is the single largest consumer of tax dollars, and they felt a responsibility to help ensure the appropriate use of the millions of dollars of state funds that go into the community colleges. Second, they had implicitly concurred in the master plan's philosophy that the segments are interdependent and related, and therefore they could not let the colleges establish their own goals and expectations outside the context of the whole system. Instead, the

commission would need to play a direct role in that process to ensure that the system would continue to cohere as a whole.

Out of lengthy discussions about the needs of the state, coming changes in the population, and programs that the colleges were currently undertaking came the establishment of four functions to further define the community colleges as truly postsecondary educational institutions. The commission set explicit priorities among these functions, to indicate the degree of their importance in terms of state policy and perceived need. These priorities were the following:

- Provision of rigorous, high-quality lower-division instruction leading to the associate degree, to transfer into four-year institutions, or to preparation for occupations. These were to be the highest priorities and primary functions of the colleges, because they spoke most clearly to the mission of open access with success.
- Remedial education to help prepare underprepared students for postsecondary-level work. This priority was to be an important but secondary function, because of its centrality in helping underprepared students succeed. It was to be a means to that end but not an end in itself.
- State-supported noncredit courses for students who could not or did not wish to enroll in regular credit programs. This priority was to be an authorized function that would meet the demand for specific needs among adults, as determined by the state (for example, English, citizenship training, and literacy education).
- Community services education that would be fully fee-supported and would respond to the interests and needs of communities. This priority was to be an authorized function that would meet the demand for specific courses in communities and maintain the local links that had proved so valuable in the past.

These functions, placed in order of priority, were thought to have significant potential to influence curricula. If the legislature adopted the priorities, it was believed, a clear message would be sent to the colleges about where the programmatic and curricular focus would have to be placed if budget requests were to correspond with state priorities. Given the necessity of surviving the complex and highly political legislative budget process, this message would no doubt bring almost immediate changes in curricula to reflect new priorities.

There were also a number of specific recommendations made by the commission in the context of these priorities. The commissioners approached the task of writing the recommendations with the intention of not being too prescriptive, but they had to acknowledge that even nonprescriptiveness can spark change, if it is so intended. Since they meant to change the system, they would have been hard pressed to argue that they did not mean to influence the curriculum. Over time the commissioners, as well as their audience, simply realized that there is a

legitimate role for nonacademic policymakers to play in determining curricula and programs to implement public policy.

Breeding Success Through the Curriculum

The most pressing concerns about the community colleges are fairly easy to state in specific terms. The rate of transfer of community college students to four-year colleges and universities is unacceptably low, especially if transfer is a primary function of the system. There is no institutionalized requirement for students in the colleges to show progress toward established goals; in fact, large numbers of students remain in the colleges without demonstrating progress toward goals—at low personal but very high public cost. There are few clearly articulated public policy goals for and expectations of the colleges, and so there is little to guide the colleges in setting their own goals and measuring their own progress. All these concerns come under the general rubric of students' success. Because ensuring success was a high priority for the commission, a number of specific recommendations were adopted that affect the curriculum, with varying degrees of intrusiveness.

Students' Progress

The commission recommended the establishment of minimum academic skill levels, with appropriate differentiations, for entry into each type of course and program offered in the colleges. Concurrently, it was recommended that probation and dismissal procedures be strengthened and that a cap be established on the total number of remedial units that students would be permitted to take, as a way of keeping students from languishing without progress in those courses. A mandatory assessment, counseling, placement, and follow-up program was recommended, to help students set personal goals and progress toward them. This series of recommendations was aimed at improving the colleges' ability to provide successful postsecondary educational experiences to their students, as well as at helping them make the most efficient and effective use of the resources that go into remedial programs. If implemented as intended, it was believed, the recommendations would directly influence curriculum.

For example, a large portion of the student population in the community colleges is currently concentrated in remedial programs. Often, remedial programs seem to exist for themselves, rather than as support services to which underprepared students are referred so that they can become specifically prepared for postsecondary-level work. In many inner-city locations, there is tremendous demand for basic skills remediation, because large numbers of minority students have simply not

achieved basic skill competency in the public school system. These students are admitted to the colleges under the policy of open access. They find that they are underprepared for the work and either drop out or end up in remediation. Once there, they have little incentive to move up and out into the regular academic program.

The recommendations for a cap on the number of remediation units allowed, as well as for a mandatory counseling, assessment, and placement program, were expected to change the current nature of community college remediation programs, if properly implemented. Particular areas of a student's underpreparedness would be identified and considered together with the student's own goals and the college's goals for his or her progress. This would help to focus any necessary remediation on specific problems, with the goal of making remediation a short-term process rather than a long-term course of study. Accordingly, the curriculum would shift to reflect this change in focus.

There are currently no minimum skill levels for entry into community college programs and courses. As a result, incoming students do not know how to prepare for postsecondary-level work, and high school curricula do not necessarily bear any relationship to the skill levels necessary for success in community colleges. The University of California and the California State University have specific high school course requirements for admissions purposes, and these drive high school curricula for university-bound students. The fact that there are no such admissions requirements for the community colleges did not concern the commission, but the fact that there is no corresponding indication of what one needs to succeed in the community colleges was a concern. Students' lack of knowledge of what is expected, as well as their consequent lack of the necessary skills, fuel the community colleges' remediation programs, which in and of themselves do not embody the mission of the colleges. The very act of establishing minimum skill levels where none now exist should affect high school and community college curricula by clearly indicating what skills are necessary for success.

The Transfer Function

It is widely acknowledged that a variety of academic and institutional barriers help keep the transfer rate to four-year institutions unacceptably low. For example, a student's having earned the current two-year associate of arts or associate of science degree does not guarantee that he or she is prepared to undertake upper-division study at a four-year college or university. Transferring students may well find themselves behind their counterparts, because they were not aware of lower-division major requirements or general education courses that could have been satisfied in their community college years. Similarly, they may be

unaware that credit for certain courses taken toward a two-year degree cannot be transferred, which means that some units must be added to what they expected to have to earn in upper-division work. Students who intend to transfer may also find that they cannot, because they were unaware that certain admissions requirements, which they did not satisfy in high school, had to be satisfied at the community college level before transfer.

The commission's recommendation for the establishment of a common transfer core curriculum and of specific major requirements was intended to solve many of these problems. If implemented as intended, the recommendation would result in a first-time link between lower-division education at the colleges and upper-division education at the universities. In practical terms, the core curriculum courses would be closely akin to what is offered at the University of California and the California State University, and specific major courses at the community colleges would very likely need curricular changes to match their lower-division counterpart courses at the University of California and the California State University.

Focusing Programs and Curricula

The community colleges currently offer a wide variety of courses, and this fact is part of their attractiveness to a broad spectrum of the population. Although the commission did not object outright to this fact, it saw ramifications that could interfere with the success of the colleges. For instance, a course taken for personal interest, beyond normal electives, might not be transferable to a four-year institution. It also might not be consistent with the goal of a student's progress, because it would replace a course more directly related to the student's goal, or the student who took the personal-interest course might displace another student who needed the course.

The commission made several recommendations in this area. First, it recommended that the only units to count toward the associate degrees should be units of the core curriculum, required units in specific majors, and units from transferable electives. This arrangement would discourage students from straying too far from the path toward a degree, and it would help transfer students avoid earning units that would not be transferable and that would not count toward the baccalaureate degree. Thus, faced with having to recommend the most efficient use of public funds, the commission stressed the need for reasonable progress toward a degree; certainly, other courses also have value, although it is not easily measured in public policy terms. Second, it recommended that credit for appropriate vocationally oriented courses might be transferred to four-year institutions through links with vocationally oriented baccalaureate

degrees (such as in nursing or computer science). Third, the commission recommended the creation of an associate of applied science degree for vocationally oriented students in courses for which there was no baccalaureate degree and therefore less interest in transfer.

Properly implemented, these recommendations would cause shifts in the current curriculum. Courses that bear no relationship to the core curriculum, to general education, to the major, or to transferable electives would have no justification for existence in the regular academic program and would have to be eliminated or be supported by fees. Elective courses would undergo changes to ensure that links to the core curriculum, to general education, and to specific majors were clear. This group of recommendations could result in major changes in the courses added to and dropped from the community colleges' curricula.

Governance and Accountability

Few public policy goals and expectations were clearly articulated for the colleges. Therefore, the colleges have lacked a clear direction and a clear means of being held accountable to such a direction, if it were ever established. Without an accountability mechanism, all the public policy direction in the world will not affect what actually happens in the classroom and on the campuses. For this reason, community college governance issues were of distinct interest to the commission. The creation of a statewide college system and of concomitant changes in governance dominated the commission's discussion of community college issues. The governance issues have yet to be resolved. At the minimum, resolution will mean increased state policy direction over academic standards and programs. Given the challenge facing every state-funded program—to justify its existence and the level of support it receives—changes in curricula and programs will be the clearest evidence that the board of governors will be able to offer for the colleges' responsiveness to the state's priorities and expectations.

Acknowledging a New Partnership

It should be clear by now that this blue-ribbon commission thoroughly affected curriculum changes in the community colleges. What should also be clear, however, is that every other public entity that has ever poked, prodded, reviewed, or proposed to revise a public educational system must also have had some influence over academic matters. Probably these efforts all began in the same way: with a disavowal of the intent to usurp the faculty's role, and with the failure to realize that such efforts also have a role to play on behalf of the public. In this day of public demand for educational reform and higher account-

ability, with growing competition for shrinking resources, states feel the pressure to ensure that public money is spent in a manner that is consistent with public priorities. Perhaps it is time to acknowledge and define an appropriate partnership between faculty and public policymakers, so as to achieve greater accountability and higher quality in postsecondary education.

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Whether they want to or not, universities inevitably influence programs and curricula of community colleges.

The University Perspective

John E. Roueche

Thomas Jefferson conceived the idea of a community (county) college "within a day's ride of all Virginians" (Vaughan and Associates, 1983), but it was the emergence of the modern American university and a core of university presidents that in fact gave birth to the only uniquely American contribution to education.

The development of the "research-oriented" university in Germany during the nineteenth century forever changed and redefined the scope and mission of the major American universities. As Lange (1927, pp. 88–89) observed:

> Historically, we need only to remind ourselves of the fact that while the American college *at best* approaches the English university type in purpose and function, this resemblance never extended downward to the two years to which the junior college has fallen heir. It is this fact, among others, that inspires the heartfelt wish on the part of American universities to be relieved of those two years of essentially secondary schooling.
>
> A senior college no longer exists except in name and outward form. The new spirit that inhabits and controls the old body is that of the university "made in Germany." The older aims of liberalized personality and leading citizenship have been replaced by the purpose of research and professional training.

By the end of the Civil War, hundreds of young Americans were traveling to Germany to pursue advanced graduate study in the new

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German universities, which were devoted primarily to the discovery of new knowledge and theory. These German universities also offered a new graduate degree, the Ph.D., which was granted upon the attainment of research competence in a major field. These new Ph.D. graduates began returning to American universities, and they were eager to transform them into research-based institutions of higher learning.

The leaders of these American universities in transformation felt that if the university could be freed from the necessity to provide what most believed to be the capstone years of secondary education (grades thirteen and fourteen), then the university might well become, in the words of Henry A. Tappan, former president of the University of Michigan, "purely universities without any admixture of collegial tuition" (Thornton, 1972, p. 48). Other university presidents to advocate the creation of a new institution—a junior college—included Edmund J. James of the University of Illinois, William Watts Folwell of the University of Minnesota, David Starr Jordan of Stanford University, and, most important, William Rainey Harper of the newly established University of Chicago.

Indeed, it was Harper who succeeded in separating the first and last two years into the academic college and the university college in 1892. These titles were later changed to *junior college* and *senior college*—perhaps the first use of those terms, as suggested by Thornton (1972). It was also Harper who strongly influenced the establishment of several public and private junior colleges in both Chicago and Peoria. He later succeeded in having two additional years added to the high school program in Joliet, Illinois, in 1901, giving Joliet Junior College claim to being the nation's oldest extant public junior (community) college.

Harper and the other university presidents wrote papers and gave speeches on the rationale for separating the first two years of college from the traditional four-year American model. Most of their arguments centered on a general strengthening of the American public school system, with special attention to the secondary schools. From my perspective, however, much of the university motivation was inextricably tied to the emergence of the American university as a research-oriented institution, with a new faculty oriented and trained to value the research function of the university. These new Ph.D. faculty were specialists in their content areas, and they wanted very much to teach upper-division and graduate courses to well-motivated students who had already decided to major in their fields of specialization.

To put it bluntly, the American junior college was probably established because universities and their faculties were hoping desperately to get rid of freshmen and sophomores, in order to concentrate their energies on talented upper-division and graduate students. It is likely that the support of university alumni for intercollegiate athletics is the major

reason why these bold early plans to remove the first two years of instruction from the university curriculum did not completely succeed on a national basis.

It is important to note, however, that the establishment and emergence of the American community or junior college was the result of university inspiration and leadership. It is doubtful that any entity has had so much influence on the community college as the university has.

Mission and Philosophy

Not only was the establishment of the junior college a direct result of university leadership, so also was the new institution's mission and philosophy. The overriding goal of the new institution was simply to offer the first two years of college. Advocates and philosophers like Dean Alexis Frederick Lange of the University of California early proposed vocational departments in junior colleges to meet localized needs, but they steadfastly maintained that "the typical junior college . . . will doubtless continue to consist of a two-year addition to an existing high school—an addition more or less intimately united with it as to aims, organization and administration, teaching staff, and school community life" (Lange, 1927, p. 111). Indeed, Lange foresaw very early the tremendous influence state universities would continue to have on the newly established junior colleges: "Now, finally, what of the relation of the public junior college to the state university-college? Obviously the latter may make it or mar it, for until the state shall create a directive educational organ, the state university will not only continue to be guide, philosopher, and friend in all educational matters, but will also continue to have a large measure of extra-legal power" (p. 114).

The transfer function of the junior college was the mission assigned to it by universities and their presidents. Others can and have argued that the creation of the junior college resulted in a strengthening of the American secondary school, but history documents the final separation of the public junior colleges from the local school systems that established them. In fact, as some contemporary spokespersons would argue, community colleges have struggled so long and hard to be viewed as a proper part of American higher education that they have long forgotten their roots and origins in the public school system. Even today, there is a preoccupation again with the transfer function of the contemporary community college, and the not-so-subtle suggestion by many that the true measure of a community college's value or quality is in the numbers of well-prepared graduates who transfer to traditional universities. I am not surprised that most of those who hold this view are faculty members in contemporary universities. Once again, this circum-

stance documents the current influence and power that universities and their faculties have on community colleges' mission and philosophy.

The vocational or technical function was added to the junior college mission as a direct result of federal funds; but, again, it was a university model that had the most direct impact on the junior college's expanded mission and philosophy. Justin Morrill succeeded in reconceptualizing and reconfiguring college programs and degrees with the passage of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. Not only were courses and programs in agricultural and mechanical fields added to university offerings, but brand-new institutions were also established to provide these programs, because existing institutions of higher learning did not consider the new programs and degrees to be of collegiate caliber. The land-grant colleges succeeded in legitimizing technical programs and facilitated the development of career-oriented programs in the junior college, even though such offerings were considered to have less importance for the transfer function. (As suggested earlier, some contemporary thinkers and philosophers still consider them to have secondary importance.)

The land-grant colleges and universities made yet another contribution to the mission of the community or junior college as it would develop in this century. This was the notion of the land-grant college as a "people's college," tied to the concept that colleges existed to serve the needs of the society that supported them. As Vaughan and Associates (1983, p. 3) correctly observe, "The land-grant college reduced higher education to the lowest possible terms and gave it the widest extension. Instruction there was reduced to the average school's standards."

Land-grant colleges not only broadened the purposes of American higher education but also proposed to serve a population of Americans not previously considered worthy of higher educational opportunities. The community college's open-door philosophy, and its concomitant commitment to high-quality instruction, have their origins in the establishment of the land-grant institutions.

It is surprising that a particular and special relationship between community or junior colleges and the land-grant institutions did not and has not developed. These institutions have more in common conceptually than any other group of colleges on the American scene. It may well be that the modern American land-grant university is now endeavoring to be more and more like the traditional research university that Justin Morrill was trying to reform.

Who Works in Community and Junior Colleges?

The university has had and continues to have major program and curriculum impact on the community college, because it prepares and

educates the majority of the faculty and leaders who work there. Some faculty members enter community college teaching from years of experience in technical and career-related fields, but most do not. Today, most faculty and administrators hold graduate degrees from universities. This fact may well account for the current debates and deliberations over the role and scope of general education courses and requirements in certificate and degree programs in community colleges.

Again, it was Lange (1927, p. 115) who well understood the continuing influence of the university on the soul of the newly established junior college by virtue of its having prepared the faculty and staff:

> Add to the conflict over means and ends the general underlying assumption that all freshman and sophomore studies are preparatory, not in the sense in which three good meals today are preparatory to three meals tomorrow, but in a technical, professional sense, and one can hardly shake off the fear that the junior colleges, instead of saving and perpetuating college aims and ideals, will succumb to universitizing influences and introduce pre-legal, pre-medical, pre-engineering, pre-Ph.D. courses, all of them naturally dominated by the universities, while pro-student courses will be rare—too rare to do much for the vocation of becoming human.

That most community college faculty are university graduates may account for the fact that so many of our instructors would still prefer to teach in four-year, traditional colleges or universities. It definitely affects the ways in which community college administrators and faculty think about college programs and courses. We are still much concerned (and perhaps preoccupied) with issues of transferability and accreditation: If a baccalaureate degree requires 128 hours of college-level work, then obviously an associate degree requires 64 hours. Indeed, our notion of what is collegiate (acceptable) is greatly influenced by our individual experiences as students in the American colleges and universities that prepared us for community college teaching or leadership.

To put it another way, one can well imagine 1,300 community and technical colleges in America, each unique and unusual in its response and adaptation to the local community and environment that supports and nourishes it. To the contrary, however, most of these colleges are remarkably alike in everything—their statements of mission and philosophy, their programs and courses of study, and their preoccupation with the "teacher as talker" model of instruction so prevalent, indeed dominant, in community colleges today.

The university experience of community college faculty and leaders also affects attitudes toward underprepared students, as well as the sense of institutional and individual responsibility to teach all who enroll, despite their limitations or handicaps. Many in the community

college ranks today would much prefer to teach college-level students and to assign remedial and compensatory work to some other educational entity. While I cannot assign causality to these attitudes, I am convinced that many of the negative faculty attitudes that exist today are direct products of university elitism. That four-year colleges and universities have prepared most community college personnel means that the models our faculty have experienced have been university models.

In contrast, many American universities have developed special programs and curricula to prepare community college instructors and leaders. The University of Minnesota, the University of Chicago, George Peabody College, and others began offering courses focused on community colleges, their students, and appropriate teaching strategies in the 1920s and 1930s. Other universities followed that initiative by developing specialized preparation programs for community college personnel. In 1944, the University of Texas at Austin established a doctoral program for community college administrators. By the mid 1960s, there were several hundred graduate preparation programs across the United States, with a particular focus on community colleges. Much of this effort has been supported by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation (see Chapter Nine, this volume).

It is also important to note, however, that since the mid 1960s there has been a general weakening of universities' interest in preparation programs for community college personnel. This weakening may be attributable to the simple supply-and-demand realities that have existed since the early 1970s—namely, that few new institutions were being created, and that turnover rates in community colleges were at their lowest levels in history. It may also be simple economic reality that as senior university professors retired, the university downgraded the vacant positions or phased them out completely.

It is fair to say that universities dramatically affect the values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of community college personnel. Today, several hundred community college administrators have benefited from Kellogg Foundation–inspired community college leadership training programs, and thousands of community college faculty have completed specially designed master's or doctoral degree programs focused on effective college teaching. There are, however, many more universities without programs for teacher preparation or leadership development than there are institutions that have them. With or without special preparation programs, universities continue to have a major impact on community college personnel, community college students, and community college programs and curricula.

Direct University Impacts on Curricula

Community colleges were established to offer the first two years of college-level work or the last two years (grades thirteen and fourteen) of

high school work. The community college, frankly, adopted a university model for its curricula and programs of study, and the transfer function historically has dominated community college's enrollments, programs, and thinking about what constitutes a good community college. If one examines offerings, as listed in the various community and technical college catalogues around the country today, one is struck immediately by the efforts of two-year institutions to look like traditional four-year colleges and universities. In most states, transfer courses are numbered and listed as they are in state university catalogues. Community college leaders are still concerned about issues of transferability and the like, and very few states have reached a level of interinstitutional maturity, where courses taken in community colleges are automatically accepted at face value by senior institutions. Even today in most states, senior institutions insist on the right to review courses and may prescribe additional work for students transferring from community colleges. Almost any time a new course or program is proposed, one of the key concerns among those supporting and funding the program is the acceptability of that program to nearby state colleges or universities. In my experience, even community college textbooks are quite similar to those used in four-year colleges and universities. Thus, as they establish new programs and curriculum offerings, community colleges tend to emulate or directly copy the curricula of four-year colleges and universities.

Universities have also sought to influence community college curricula through a variety of positive and professional strategies. The University of California at Los Angeles established the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges in the late 1960s to provide research data on program efficiency and effectiveness. It was hoped that these data would shape curriculum decisions in community colleges as new directions and new community needs were considered. This effort at research-based planning and decision making in community colleges is still under way, and the ERIC Clearinghouse is approaching twenty-three years of research, dissemination, and diffusion services to community colleges. Similarly, the University of Florida established the Florida Research League, with a similar focus and purpose, including data collection on a statewide basis for purposes of comparison and the establishment of normative data. The University of Florida's program is a fine example of university leadership in assessing the impact and effect of community college programs. The Virginia Polytechnic University Community College Program has been working for a number of years with small and rural colleges around the nation in an effort to help them become more effective in serving small numbers of students in sparsely populated areas. New and effective means of instruction (for example, distant learning strategies) have emanated from this effort. Similarly, the University of Florida and Florida State University have been working

cooperatively with state directors of community college systems for the past decade, in an effort to improve educational delivery systems in community colleges across the nation.

In 1978, the University of Texas at Austin established the National Institute for Staff and Organizational Development (NISOD), another Kellogg Foundation–inspired effort with university initiative, to improve the quality of teaching and learning in community colleges. Today, approximately 500 community colleges from across the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Pacific and Atlantic Basins comprise NISOD's membership and join the University of Texas staff in collaborative and professional development activities aimed at improving teaching effectiveness in open-door classrooms.

Almost all the major university graduate programs sponsor and promote field-based research, in the expectation that data derived from effectiveness studies will influence community colleges' practices and thus directly affect curricula and instruction. How much community colleges and their practices are affected by university research is probably open to question; to my knowledge, this topic has not been sufficiently analyzed to provide an answer.

It is obvious that universities were prime movers in the conceptualization and birth of American community colleges. Even if universities were trying not to influence community college programs, faculty, and their students, it would be virtually impossible for them not to do so. Community college personnel are products of university teaching and preparation programs and, as models, universities influence our vision of the world, as well as our own identities as college personnel.

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Whatever their effects, external influences on curricula and programs cannot be ignored.

Accreditation and Curricular Change

Howard L. Simmons

Accreditation in the United States is either regional (institutional) or specialized (programmatic). This chapter describes the several ways in which each type of accreditation influences the community college curriculum. It establishes the nexus between evaluation politics and the community college curriculum and includes specific examples of the nature and extent of the influence of accrediting bodies on community college programs.

The term *evaluation politics* will be defined in this chapter along the lines of Englert's (1986, p. 102) conceptual framework. For Englert, evaluation "is highly political in at least three logically distinct but interdependent ways. Participants in the evaluation attempt to influence the evaluation in directions consonant with their self-interests (politics in evaluation). Governmental bodies interact with evaluations (politics *and* evaluation). And evaluation judgments potentially or actually reallocate stakes (the politics *of* evaluation). Each of these kinds of evaluation politics is evident in higher education, though the unique nature of academic institutions affects the ways in which politics [are] manifest." Thus, evaluation politics manifest themselves in various ways in academe, depending on the participant or the decision maker, but influence appears to be the common characteristic. That "the collegiate

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curriculum in community colleges nationwide is propelled by numerous forces" (Cohen and Brawer, 1986–87, p. 13) is probably taken for granted by most policymakers in higher education. Except for those who are directly involved in the evaluation of certain specialized programs, however, most do not consider accreditation to be a major force affecting program design and content. Most policymakers tend instead, as Cohen and Brawer (p. 13) point out, to recognize that "the university transfer requirements, occupation and program advisory committees and licensure examinations, student abilities, and faculty desires all influence the pattern of courses offered."

Even ten years ago, however, there was some realization that accreditation was one of the several forces having an influence over the collegiate curriculum. In discussing the various external forces that shape the curriculum in colleges and universities, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1977, p. 52) recognized that accrediting bodies "do exert an external judgment on an institution's resources and performance" and that "both the regional and professional accrediting agencies influence college and university curricula."

As an external influence on community college curricula, accreditation is seen most often in the review of missions, goals, and programs. It is not uncommon for regional accrediting bodies to establish minimum requirements for course work in general education and remedial instruction or for specialized accrediting bodies to adopt essentials that specify, for example, particular courses to be taken by students. Lately, the possibilities for use of computers have motivated accrediting bodies to examine the issues of computer literacy and expanded computer applications in various disciplines.

Just how does the accreditation process exert its influence on the curriculum? It involves an array of power brokers—evaluation team chairpersons and other visitors, consultants, members of accrediting commissions and committees, representatives of state agencies—as well as accrediting bodies and the community colleges being evaluated. The degree of evaluation-derived influence exerted on a community college to shape particular curricula also depends on evaluators' orientations, motivations, and assumptions, and all these elements may be politically based (Englert, 1986).

In some ways, community colleges are very likely to be influenced through accreditation because most of them have a relatively short history with accreditation and are just beginning to be recognized as sources of power in shaping the character of their own curricula. For example, as recently as the late 1950s and the early 1960s, evaluators sent by regional accrediting bodies to community and junior colleges were largely drawn from four-year colleges and universities. That fact alone would not have disqualified those evaluators, but some of them had

biases against career and preprofessional emphases in certain two-year curricula. They often recommended curricular changes that forced community colleges to define general education components very narrowly in transfer and occupational curricula alike. Thus, it was no accident that the earliest accredited two-year colleges could be described as little more than two-year "liberal arts" transfer institutions. If one examines evaluators' assumptions about the community college curricula, it becomes clear that the self-interest of the four-year colleges was involved, and that they had more than a passing interest in influencing program outcomes.

Any discussion of this chapter's topic would be incomplete without some attention to the role of evaluators and other accrediting personnel as influence peddlers. Depending on their level of expertise and their academic connections, these key players in evaluation politics can and frequently do influence the direction, content, and methodology of two-year curricula. The external evaluators of specific curricula may offer recommendations based on their best professional judgments, but they must also use all their persuasive powers when those affected by their conclusions do not agree with them. Conversely, evaluators can be coopted against their better judgment by especially convincing sponsors of a curriculum under evaluation. The outcome will depend considerably on the individual or the group that emerges as the most effective power broker.

Several years ago, while serving as an evaluator at a large urban community college, I observed the antics of a nursing program director who was attempting to divert attention from the watered-down content of an anatomy and physiology course that was taught by instructors who had inadequate preparation in the sciences. As it turned out, the team evaluator assigned to review the natural sciences was not susceptible to this kind of influence. He succeeded in convincing the evaluation team to include a strong recommendation to add a more rigorous science segment, to be taught by qualified biology faculty. Such an outcome would more normally be expected from the efforts of a specialized accrediting body, but it demonstrates that regional accrediting bodies can also exert influence in specific ways over community college curricula. Even though regional accreditation is basically institutional, evaluation teams regularly include discipline- and program-specific evaluators.

Whose Rights? Whose Responsibilities?

The highly specific nature of evaluations conducted by specialized accrediting bodies ensures some external influence on community college curricula. Such influence has been most evident in allied health and business programs. A 1982 forum on accreditation sponsored by the

American Association of Community and Junior Colleges focused on the rights and responsibilities of institutions and accrediting agencies and called attention to colleges' and universities' traditional rights in formulating curricula. The proceedings of that meeting indicated that an institution seeking accreditation of its programs does not abdicate its rights; rather, it exercises them according to a set of reasonable standards. As a result of that forum, the Council on Allied Health Education and Accreditation (CAHEA) agreed to modify any of its guidelines that were infringing on institutional rights and responsibilities.

Most colleges do not challenge the right of accrediting bodies to establish minimum criteria designed to protect the public interest, but some (Savage, 1986) see the specialized accrediting bodies as attempting to control the form and content of curricula and of institutional policies and procedures. Community colleges have challenged accrediting bodies when standards and guidelines have been perceived as too prescriptive, not in the best interests of community college students, too traditional and supportive of the status quo, or designed in such a manner that they interfered in substantive ways with institutional autonomy. Any threat or perceived threat to institutional autonomy or academic freedom may trigger a very strong response against an accrediting body.

Manifestations of Influence

Regional or specialized accrediting bodies influence community college curricula in many specific ways. What follows is a discussion of the most important areas of influence.

Missions and Goals. Major changes in an institution's direction and purpose must be reported to accrediting bodies, which often express concern about new program emphases. When a community college is judged to be less comprehensive in its curricular offerings than its mission and goals imply, the regional agency may suggest that the college strengthen its offerings in particular areas, to reflect more accurately what the college says it is.

Program Review. The Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association requires curricula to be evaluated constantly, with modifications as necessary. Obviously, this requirement for systematic review of curricula leads to varying degrees of change in the content and overall design of the programs reviewed.

For example, recent reviews of business and engineering technology programs by regional and specialized agencies alike have prompted community colleges to add computer science applications courses to these curricula. Even though initial motivation for changes may have come from other internal or external sources, the need to carefully

consider the adoption of such changes in curricula took on more urgency when accrediting bodies entered the scene as power brokers.

General Education Versus Specialty Requirements. For all degree-granting institutions, regional accrediting groups have steadfastly required that all programs have reasonable general education components. Some bodies have been more prescriptive than others in recommending the proportion of total programs to be devoted to general education or the liberal arts. Still, it is unlikely that any group would accredit a community college that did not offer learning experiences in the humanities, the social and behavioral sciences, and the natural sciences, as well as in communication and computation skills. Given that the typical community college curriculum contains no more than sixty to sixty-eight credits, intense internal politics are involved in decisions about what proportion of a curriculum will be devoted to general education, as opposed to specialty courses. Some accrediting standards dictate that a certain percentage of credit hours be devoted to general education courses (especially in transfer curricula); others allow greater institutional flexibility or autonomy. The Middle States Association, for example, seeks a balance between available instructional time and the importance of general education to an institution's mission. Specialized accrediting bodies are considered by community colleges and other institutions to be more intrusive on curricula than regional bodies are.

Remedial Programs. Like many state agencies, several regional accrediting commissions have taken strong stands on the awarding of college credit for remedial work. Many current accreditation policies do not permit community colleges to award academic credit for such work. Determination of what actually constitutes remedial work is at the heart of the issue, and although an accrediting body may adopt a relatively strong position, an institution can find ways to circumvent its stand. For example, some courses previously designated as remedial have simply been reclassified or renumbered. In these cases, internal forces may have greater influence than accrediting bodies do.

Nontraditional Programs. Programs not of a traditional nature, including learning experiences provided in nontraditional formats, usually have been subjected to close scrutiny by regional accrediting bodies. Some observers suggest that accrediting bodies merely want to be certain "that new departures and adaptations [are] consistent with an institution's mission, goals, and objectives as originally established or as modified to accommodate new conditions" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1977, p. 55). It is more likely, however, that "the forces that define and defend the status quo in the curricula of colleges and universities are hard to resist" (p. 55). In the development of standards, "it is often easier to argue for the dominant and traditional

program than it is to promote experimental and nontraditional ones" (p. 55).

Examples of the interventions of accrediting bodies in nontraditional areas are plentiful, and such interventions are usually related to policies regarding credit for experiential learning, telecommunications instruction, and various other off-campus arrangements, including some home-study formats. In addition to establishing the optimum number of credits that can be awarded for experiential learning, accrediting bodies have the difficult task of monitoring off-campus programs, to be sure that such programs have adequate curricular content and quality, especially in terms of library use and other learning resources. Often, a college implements such programs before giving notice to the accrediting body, a practice designed to weaken any intervention by the accrediting body. The college generally assumes that approval will be forthcoming, because considerable resources have already been committed.

Contractual Programs. To maximize enrollment and minimize competition, a growing number of community colleges are entering into contractual agreements with local vocational-technical schools, proprietary postsecondary schools, businesses and industries, government agencies, other nonprofit organizations, and even other accredited two- and four-year colleges. Because the accrediting process could be jeopardized, a community college is required to maintain control over programs offered through such arrangements, and to document how supervision is maintained. The college is also required to include language in its contracts that essentially protects the college, its students, and the accrediting body from exploitation.

In the Middle States Association region, joint "ladder" programs in nursing have been popular. Some provide for the articulation of licensed practical nursing programs with associate degree programs, usually between a community college and a public vocational-technical school. Others feature arrangements with hospitals' schools of nursing, whereby the community college provides science courses or a general education component. Still other joint programs with proprietary postsecondary institutions arrange for the community college to provide the general education core while the proprietary school provides the specialty portion of a curriculum. Most of these proprietary schools are accredited by specialized agencies. The leverage that community colleges can use in such cases to encourage approval by their own accrediting agencies is naturally increased, because the specialized bodies are also recognized by the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation.

Outcomes Assessment. If there were any one area in which the influence of accrediting agencies on academic programs could be dramatically increased, it would be in the adoption of outcomes assessment. Not enough is known about how to assess outcomes in

higher education, but there is already strong interest in relating outcomes assessment to program and institutional accountability. The concept that outcomes assessment in the community college, as elsewhere, should be linked to the evaluation of goal achievement has wide acceptance. What has not yet been agreed on by the key players and interest groups is what evidence of goal achievement will be required. In this area, evaluation politics will become increasingly intense.

Impacts of Specialized Accreditation. Perhaps the best example of accreditation's direct and indirect influence on the curricula of community colleges is found in the continuing struggle between the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) and the community colleges. This controversy centers on what should constitute undergraduate business courses in community colleges and on the seeming unwillingness of AACSB-accredited institutions to accept for upper-division credit some courses taken at the lower-division level. The question of who should have primary control over the business curriculum in community colleges has become highly controversial. The protracted debate over the issue has increased in momentum and gravity since 1977, when the issue first surfaced during a review hearing on AACSB's accreditation before the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation. Bonnell (1982) has described AACSB's requirements for course offerings as highly prescriptive and harmful to community college transfer and articulation practices. Since that time, the battle has raged on, with both sides becoming more entrenched in their positions (Savage, 1986; Blood, 1987).

Peaceful Coexistence

As the foregoing discussion indicates, community colleges have established a fairly comfortable working relationship with most regional and specialized accrediting bodies. Nevertheless, when threats are perceived to institutional autonomy in terms of prescribed curriculum design and content or to accrediting bodies' prerogatives, significant response from community colleges or from regional accrediting bodies is likely. For example, a dispute continues between community colleges and the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, and the Middle States Association and other regional commissons have given strong admonitions to certain community colleges concerning contractual relationships with nonregionally accredited organizations. Community colleges have also largely accepted the role played by the accrediting bodies in quality assurance and institutional and program improvement, while accrediting bodies generally have recognized the primacy of faculty in determining curricular content and modes of delivery. Controversies appear to have arisen only when colleges have

given too broad interpretations to agency policies affecting programs and outcomes, or when agencies have been too prescriptive in the application of standards and guidelines.

From the perspective of evaluation politics, community colleges and accrediting bodies seem to understand clearly that they each represent communities of interest. While the two groups usually have common interests, they necessarily hold divergent positions on certain issues and topics and must conduct constructive exchanges to resolve whatever problems arise. It is also clear that the various players in evaluation and accreditation serve as power brokers and influence peddlers. Institutions try to influence particular outcomes with respect to curricula and other areas under evaluation, and evaluation team members and chairpersons often bring their own biases to the process. These circumstances entail the strong possibility that innovative curricula will suffer serious setbacks because of traditional recommendations from evaluation teams to reshape curricula to fit the status quo. Due-process procedures must be observed by both parties, and changes are possible in the final determination of the content and format of programs, but most institutions do not protest too loudly.

Community colleges and accrediting bodies alike must recognize the role of politics in evaluation, as in any other area of human interaction, and political influences will continue as long as interest groups exist and as long as there are power imperatives. Obviously, the design and implementation of curricula in community colleges is just as susceptible to political influences—both positive and negative—as anything else is. As the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1977) concluded, however, such external influences as accreditation are of long standing; they have been mostly benign and sometimes very positive, and they must not be ignored.

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Why did the Kellogg Foundation's support of community colleges drop so sharply after such auspicious beginnings?

The Kellogg Foundation and Curriculum Reform

James M. Richmond

In the past, community colleges have had strong professional leadership and a clear image as the "people's colleges." All one has to do is look back over the past thirty years of community college expansion to see how voters, legislators, and funding agencies understood and became excited about community college education. Such acceptance of community colleges was also the rule for many years at the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. Community colleges have been remarkably successful in getting money from Kellogg over the past three decades—as far as I can determine, more from Kellogg than from any other large foundation in the United States. Total Kellogg grants to community colleges have exceeded $60 million. In addition, at least twice that amount has been given in other Kellogg grants to benefit all of higher education, including community colleges.

The viewpoints expressed in this chapter are the author's alone and should not be construed as representing those of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation or of any persons (other than the author) associated with the Kellogg Foundation now or in the past.

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Background

Strong professional and personal relationships emerged between community college leaders and Kellogg Foundation staff members beginning in the late 1950s. The very first contacts between Kellogg Foundation executive officers and community college leaders established the personal relationships and mutual understanding that would last some twenty years and provide $60 million in grant support.

In March 1958, after a conference, Dr. Ed Gleazer boarded a morning train at Grand Rapids, Michigan. His companion was Dr. Robert Kinsinger, at that time director of the Associate Degree Nursing Project at the University of the State of New York. Gleazer was the new executive director of the American Association of Junior Colleges, now known simply as AACJC. (Thirty years ago, AACJC was a very limited organization; its main purpose was to conduct the annual convention.)

Gleazer and Kinsinger decided not to continue to their original destination but to transfer instead at Port Huron and go on to Battle Creek, in hopes of talking with the Kellogg Foundation people.

When the train pulled in to Battle Creek, they telephoned the foundation and received an appointment. The meeting began with the foundation's president, Dr. Emory Morris. Gleazer evidently told his story so well and so convincingly that the interview was stopped again and again as Morris asked other foundation officials to join them. By noon, six Kellogg Foundation officers were in the room. They accompanied Gleazer and Kinsinger to lunch, and so began the Kellogg Foundation's long interest in and relationship with the problems and potential of the community college movement.

In 1958, Morris and other leaders in Battle Creek were struggling to identify and chart out the future of the local junior college, which had been created only the year before. The local school board was sharply divided over the value of the junior college and had approved its opening on a one-year, trial basis only. Thus, Gleazer's stop in Battle Creek could not have been more timely.

A Problem-Solving Approach

Battle Creek went ahead to affirm the "people's college" concept and develop an outstanding community college. The foundation also moved well beyond the modest grant first proposed by Gleazer and Kinsinger. The college, to no one's surprise, has reaped huge benefits from Kellogg for its students and staff over the years—to finance curricular reform, staff development, and construction of facilities. Kellogg also went on to support the training of junior college leaders

nationwide, establish a full-time staff for AACJC in Washington, and support faculty development at sixty-six community colleges.

In 1958, Kellogg helped initiate many of the associate-degree nursing programs that have since spread to seven hundred community colleges. Kellogg backed a project to assist Florida, New York, Texas, and California in developing new curricula for the nursing programs just then emerging in community colleges. This project set guidelines for faculty preparation, curriculum standards, consultation services, and demonstration sites.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Kellogg continued to expand its grantmaking for curriculum reform in community colleges. It underwrote development costs for two-year occupational programs in forestry, data processing, hotel and restaurant management, civil technology, agrichemical production, and fisheries. In fact, deciding that the whole area of occupational education needed strengthening, Kellogg encouraged full-scale development of faculty and programs in this area. More recently, it has supported a project to develop self-instructional materials in personal health promotion, carried out at California's Coastline Community College.

While these grant programs may seem to indicate that the foundation was interested primarily in occupational programs, this was only partly true. In the 1950s and 1960s, Kellogg financed twelve different community college leadership programs. These projects provided workshops, seminars, summer conferences, preservice and inservice training, and internships for current and future community college leaders. A similar program administered through the University of Texas continues to provide leadership for community college faculty from sixty-six different institutions.

The range of Kellogg's grantmaking for community college education illustrates both the diversity of interests and the long-term, problem-solving orientation of private foundations, then and now. The community college movement was presented to Kellogg and other foundations on the basis of a social problem that needed to be addressed: how best to provide low-cost higher education and skills training for the thousands of young Americans entering college after World War II and the Korean War.

The specific areas given early support reflected Kellogg's perceptions of the social problem and possible responses to it: the job requirements of a burgeoning labor force after the wars, and the quantum leaps in technological applications that required a whole new range of two-year career programs.

Nowhere was the importance of changing technology clearer than in the allied health field. There had been an explosion of health knowledge and scientific information in the 1940s. Industry pioneered

new instruments and materials for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes. Miniaturization was introduced. Kellogg had supported the Commission on Allied Health Education, which found that a number of levels of health care could be undertaken by technical-level personnel, rather than by highly trained professionals. Physicians and dentists would be able to use these workers' skills efficiently.

The use of formal commissions and ad hoc advisory committees to identify problems and document problem-solving strategies has long been part of foundations' approach to educational change. It involves a sense of democracy and public input into the grantmaking process and helps legitimize future grantmaking decisions in the eyes of boards of directors.

These expert commissions and committees are perceived as the wellspring of later foundation programming initiatives; sometimes they are, but often they are not. Most of the large foundations have professional staff members who are specialists by education and by experience, and these people are evaluated on their ability to promote their areas of programming to foundations' administrations and boards of directors. In Kellogg's case, the foundation has identified needs, contacted key figures, communicated its concern, and made student recruitment a condition of its support.

This approach to the funding of academic and curriculum reform is even more prevalent today. There seems to be a growing public and professional appreciation of private foundations that recognize and accept a leadership role as catalysts for identifying and solving problems. While heeding outside advice, their work is largely self-directed by their professional staff and boards of directors. This reality emphasizes the importance of personalities and professional relationships in the grantmaking process.

Funding Relationships

The existence on foundation staffs of people who, by training or earlier occupation, understand certain needs and approaches goes a long way toward explaining foundations' receptivity to solving problems in these sectors. Foundation-institutional relationships are also often shaped by the makeup of important advisory committees or commissions. In addition to their legitimizing function, these groups serve important networking functions for foundations. They give foundations the opportunity to meet people in various fields and to informally evaluate individuals who may be considered for foundation staff or consulting positions. Thus, a combination of personalities and problem-solving approaches has characterized Kellogg's involvement with community colleges, both for curriculum reform and for other purposes.

In my ten years as a Kellogg vice-president, I witnessed a marked change in the relationship between Kellogg and the community colleges. During this period, Kellogg called together several groups of supposedly top community college leaders to seek advice on the major issues facing their institutions and on how the foundation could be helpful. Kellogg had no preconceived outcomes in mind for these groups of community college experts; I think that the foundation was simply concerned about a range of educational issues and wondered how community colleges saw themselves responding to emerging problems. I was appalled at the lack of problem identification, the lack of leadership, and the lack of direction among the community college leaders who attended these meetings. I was surprised at the contrast between these sessions and what I had heard about Gleazer's first discussion in Battle Creek some twenty years earlier.

The Future

The world has changed, of course. Certainly, community colleges have changed. They have grown and matured as organizations. Perhaps there is no longer a perceived need for private sector support, as there was in the early days. At any rate, Kellogg continues to take pride in its long association with community colleges, but it now provides relatively little support for two-year colleges outside its home community.

It is possible that what were once important personal and professional relationships are now absent or have become less intense. The advisory committees of the late 1970s and early 1980s failed to spark Kellogg's interest in emerging community college issues, perhaps because of the inability of community colleges to promote curricular reform in terms of urgent social and human needs. Instead, they talked about the pressures caused by accrediting bodies, the glory of more specialization in the workplace, and the articulation of long-range plans between two- and four-year institutions.

In any case, community colleges have not been as sensitive to matching their own needs to private foundation programming as they were in earlier days. Some observers may disagree with this statement, particularly in light of the increasing numbers of development professionals hired by community colleges. Nevertheless, in 1958, Gleazer presented Kellogg with a problem, as well as with a vision for a new level of education in America to solve it. The budget for his proposal was written on the back of a napkin. He proposed no fancy packaging, nor did he talk about standard deviations and double-blind project evaluations. Personality, problem solving, leadership, and persuasion were his tools.

In 1982, Kellogg restated and redefined its programming priorities. Two of its programming emphases for the 1980s were to be adult

continuing education and leadership development. Three years later, however, there were relatively few recent Kellogg grants to community colleges. I was puzzled and, in some ways, personally and professionally perplexed by this situation.

I asked myself and our program staff at the foundation whether Kellogg and community colleges had simply followed different paths and priorities. I was told that the foundation had seen few if any really creative and exciting pilot proposals by community colleges in the area of adult continuing education. At the time, there had been no community college proposals seeking to demonstrate, with foundation money, the interactive use of computers throughout a community, new ways for adults to assess learning needs, educational training options, or decisions for personal growth and development. Neither were there any community colleges that wanted to develop exciting new ways to improve the citizens' boards and senior management staff of nonprofit agencies. If there were such proposals, they were not coming to the Kellogg Foundation, either from individual community colleges or from AACJC. As a result, Kellogg's program officers looked more and more to other institutions and organizations, which are now targeting the needs of adult learners in American society. The actions or inaction of community college leaders may not have been entirely responsible. At times, insular thinking on foundation staffs can be counterproductive to problem analysis and creativity, whether one is talking about community college curriculum reform or other issues.

A private foundation is a rarefied working environment, free, for the most part, of constituency pressures, budgets, demands for public accountability, attention from the news media, and internal aggression. Working too long in such an environment can leave some individuals with the belief that the deference accorded them is based on their superior intellect and innate grasp of key social issues. If a foundation's staff members are specialists in higher education administration programming, this belief can engender strong feelings of ownership toward projects and programs. Foundations would be wise to limit uninterrupted tenure for lead program staff members, at least to the extent of encouraging them to take sabbaticals back into business, nonprofit agency management, or academia. Those individuals, their foundations, and society would all benefit.

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Business/education partnerships offer a promising way for partners to meet their common goals and challenges.

Business and Education: Partners in Curriculum Development

David E. Anderson

For my company, GTE California, community colleges have proved essential: One in every four of our employees has attended a community college, and one in ten has received a degree from a community college. This marvelous institution has improved the lives of our people and given them skills and knowledge that have improved our company and its ability to serve our customers.

Community colleges have become a vital national resource. In virtually every major community in the United States, they provide opportunities for the local population and support for local employers. We have grown to depend on them—or, speaking on behalf of the business community, perhaps I should say that we have grown to depend on each other. We have something to offer them, and they have something to offer us. Together, we have a great deal to offer this nation, its people, and its economy.

I wish to explore in this chapter the ways in which community colleges and the business community together have developed the curriculum needed to solve this nation's problems. I will discuss examples that have been implemented in California, for the most part, because this

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is the setting with which I am most familiar. Nevertheless, the programs presented here are only typical of similar activities taking place throughout the nation (see, for example, Chapter Three, this volume).

Fundamental Problems and the Basic Solution

Let us start with the basics. The role the community colleges play in preparing the work force is tremendous. Educators are faced with the same challenges as other employers are. They need to obtain a capable work force, retrain and reskill older workers, provide new career options for people, and deal (especially in states like California) with segments of the population that have limited English-language skills. If these are some of the problems, how can business and educators solve them? Together—and one demonstrated way to do that is through business/education partnerships.

Most community colleges have some experience in these collaborations. My experience started in a California Chamber of Commerce program called Project BET (BET stands for Business and Education Together). The project has helped involve more than 270 local chambers of commerce in business/education partnership activities. The state chamber provides information for the local chambers, helps put together local education committees, and serves as a clearinghouse for news about what techniques have worked.

The chamber has also created a statewide network of partnership practitioners, the California Education Partnership Consortium. The consortium has a membership of more than 250 and supports Project BET's goals by linking existing partnerships on important issues, such as school reform.

Now that the chamber has seen how such approaches as Project BET work, we are looking for ways to adapt its concepts (originally developed for the K–12 grade levels) to higher education. Of course, business involvement in higher education is long established, but I feel that the type of relationship common in the past differs significantly from the relationships possible in such programs as Project BET. Corporations have usually provided grants for research and other types of funding, particularly to private, four-year institutions, but this is not the type of relationship that Project BET promotes. The BET partnership model assumes that both partners come to the relationship with unique contributions. The emphasis is on sharing expertise, human resources, leadership, and ideas.

Examples in Community Colleges

In reviewing the experience in California, I was pleased to discover that this type of partnership is a reality in a number of community

college districts. One important example is the Technology Exchange Center, in Garden Grove. Here, the public and private sectors have joined forces and set up a third entity to manage the partnership. The center is a nonprofit corporation whose board of directors is made up of representatives from the college and business communities alike.

The mission of the center is to meet employers' needs for trained workers through public education. It acts as a broker between businesses and the community colleges; and, again, the trade-off is mutually beneficial: Colleges get ambitious, eager students, and businesses get reinvigorated, more skillful workers. Over 140 businesses have collaborated with the center since it opened in 1983, and the center's programs have involved more than 8,000 students.

As implied by its name, the Technology Exchange Center has concentrated on programs and courses that train and retrain workers for high-tech industries. The Department of Defense, Rockwell, and Ford Aerospace are just a few of the center's business partners. Things have gone so well that the center is now helping an expanded number of community colleges with courses and partnerships aimed at high technology.

A second example comes from northern California, at the College of San Mateo. In 1981, Litton Industries and the College of San Mateo began working together on a new curriculum, new equipment, and a general revitalization of the college's electronics program. The relationship is still going strong, because both partners agreed to do what each does best: Litton specifies the skills required of technicians, and the college designs the programs that qualify people in those skills. Litton then provides the equipment needed for training. Over the past five years, the Litton–San Mateo partnership has trained or upgraded over 180 Litton employees. The college has also acted as a consultant to Litton to develop specific training for Litton's customers. Again, here is the secret of success in partnerships: mutual benefits, and the recognition that each partner has a unique contribution to make.

A third example points out the flexibility of the partnership idea. This partnership is between the California Community Colleges chancellor's office and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. It provides career-oriented summer internships for selected vocational students. Since it began, in 1983, fifty-three colleges have participated. What is interesting here is that the two-sided college/business partnership has been expanded to a triangle: college, business, and government. In addition to a broad cross-section of private sector firms, the partners are the California State Universities, the Federal Department of Labor, the California Employment Training Panel, and the California Student Aid Commission.

The goal of this exceptionally wide-ranging partnership during

1987 was to provide two thousand students with internships, income, and the unique educational experience of applying skills to real-life uses. In this case, a business actually provided a new curriculum for community college students.

An important player in this arena has been the California Employment Training Panel, which has assisted in the formation of scores of business/education partnerships since its inception in 1983. The purpose of the panel is to provide training opportunities for those who are recently unemployed and those who will become unemployed if they do not acquire more marketable skills. To do this, the panel works closely with businesses throughout the state to identify training needs (defined as being in skilled areas, not in minimum-wage jobs) and then encourages joint business-education proposals for developing and implementing appropriate training programs. While all types of educational institutions have participated in these arrangements, community colleges have been the educational partner in the greatest number of these ventures. A recent report notes that through its first eighteen months of operation, the panel supported projects that have trained over forty thousand persons, virtually all of whom were fully employed as a result of their new or upgraded skills.

Where Will the Future Take Us?

Those of us who have been working in these partnerships from the business side have grown more enthusiastic about them with each new success. At least in California, people involved have acquired a reservoir of expertise that is of great help in developing and implementing new initiatives. Local chambers are now often a significant factor in the partnerships. By working with its local chamber of commerce, a district or an individual college has a one-stop address for locating a variety of businesses, all of which are potential partners. The chamber can serve as an information broker about partnerships, provide technical assistance, and sometimes eliminate reinvention of the wheel by sharing a successful partnership model from another community. The state chamber can help by providing information about techniques that have worked well or about those that have not worked so well.

In 1987, the state chamber began a pilot program, which we hope will advance partnerships to a new level of importance. What we are working toward is a compact: a far-ranging, quantifiable agreement among businesses and educational institutions. Our pilot effort is modeled after the successful compact developed by Boston businesses and educators. Its keystone is a set of quantifiable expectations for each of the partners. For education, that means improving test scores, improving study skills, and cutting dropout rates. For business, it means guarantee-

ing jobs, scholarships, and volunteers. For Boston, it has meant hope for young people and growth of the economy.

The Boston compact has been operating since 1984, and educators and business leaders alike say that it is a success. Business has exceeded the number of jobs it originally pledged, and the educational system has improved test scores and retention.

In California, the state chamber has completed preliminary discussions with the California Association of Community Colleges (CACC) regarding the pilot program. As in Boston, the CACC and chamber leaders believe that the compact represents a classic example of the partnership concept: Business brings what it can to the challenge, education brings what it can, and the community benefits from the results.

Conclusions

The impact that business/education partnerships can have on the community college curriculum is obvious from the examples above. To the degree that business is an active participant in these programs, it plays a significant role in determining what is taught and how information is presented.

It is interesting that there seem to be more cumulative effects of the bringing together of businesses and education communities around issues that involve the curriculum. For example, although no single partnership has motivated national reexamination of the creditworthiness of training offered by businesses in the workplace, the mutual respect that has been built up over the years between business and educational organizations through cooperative ventures has encouraged the examination of this issue. The American Council on Education has researched the practices of two- and four-year colleges and universities and found that about 40 percent are giving credit for course work offered by business and industry, and this portion is increasing. This is an additional and very positive unanticipated outcome of efforts that were initially very local in scope.

I am not proposing that business/education partnerships are the only answer to all the problems now facing community colleges, and I do not want to be unrealistic about what partnerships can provide. Nevertheless, we would be making a mistake if we underestimated their potential. From the vantage point of the business community, education partnerships are an excellent investment. The time, human resources, and in-kind contributions we provide to our educational partners are going to pay us dividends in the years ahead.

A few of my colleagues in business say that we have no responsibility outside our companies; our only goal, in other words, is to run our

businesses. I could not disagree more. Business should do whatever it can to create a healthy economic and social climate in all the communities where it is present. I believe that the single most important element of that effort is education. Without an educated populace, business—as well as every other institution in our society, and our society itself, for that matter—will not do very well for very long.

The businesses that I represent, California Chamber of Commerce members, recognize the need to work closely with community colleges. On the basis of our experience, I am absolutely convinced that, working with local chambers, community colleges can create a network of partnerships that will help us meet our mutual challenges.

David E. Anderson is president and chief executive officer of GTE California.

This chapter applies the central tenets of organizational theory to community colleges.

A Case of Incomplete Institutionalization

Marshall W. Meyer

My purpose in this chapter is to acquaint the reader with some key concepts in organizational theory and research, so that he or she can bring these concepts to bear on the community colleges. I suspect that these concepts alone contribute little to the discussion of community college curricula, but they lead me to a hypothesis bearing on the issue of who controls the curriculum. I argue that the community colleges, like other segments of education, must ultimately rely on moral suasion and legitimacy, rather than on performance, to justify their budgets. They must behave more like social institutions than technical organizations, if only because their outputs are not easily gauged. Unfortunately, unlike other segments of education, community colleges represent a case of incomplete institutionalization; thus, their capacity to behave like institutions is quite limited. For this reason, the community college curriculum is very much at the mercy of external forces.

The elementary and secondary schools, four-year colleges, and universities often succeed as institutions, because most people have some conception of how schools are organized by grade and subject matter, and almost all understand the significance of diplomas. There is also widespread understanding about four-year colleges and universities—if

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not about the details of internal organization, then at least about the prestige of different institutions and the significance of various degrees.

Community colleges, by contrast, are poorly understood. Their origins are ambiguous: Were they originally thirteenth- and fourteenth-grade schools or colleges? Is their mission remedial, vocational, avocational and recreational, or higher educational? Because community colleges are poorly understood, it is difficult for them to behave like institutions—that is, to claim resources on grounds of legitimacy—but their capacity for behaving like technical organizations is also limited. Thus, the community colleges are caught in a conundrum.

Basic Concepts

Organizational theorists view the world through a set of special lenses. Unlike economists, they do not assume men and women to be hyperrational. Unlike some psychologists, they do not assume men and women to be irrational. Instead, organizational theorists believe that people's capacity for rational action is variable. More important, the capacity for rational action is a function of how organizations are constructed and of how organizations interact with their environments. The key concepts of organizational theory, then, are bounded rationality, organization, and environment.

Environmental Determination

The central hypothesis of organizational theory is that environments determine organizations. While in principle this idea appears simple, in practice it turns out to be rather complicated: The welter of elements in the environment is such that environments can affect organizations in many possible ways. To deal with this complexity, theorists have developed several models describing the mechanisms through which environments operate on organizations. Three major models of environmental effects on organizations—the adaptation model, the selection (evolutionary) model, and the institutional model—occupy much of the attention of contemporary organizational theorists.

The Adaptation Model. This model assumes that organizations are capable of change—that is, of accommodating their internal structures and processes to external conditions. There are several varieties of adaptation models, but the following two are relevant here.

First, *contingency theory* makes two assertions. One is that the fit or correspondence between organizations and their environments may be more important than their conformity to classical management principles. This assertion contains the notion that the internal structure of organizations may be contingent on external conditions and states. In the

most general terms, this is the fundamental hypothesis of organizational theory: Environments determine organizations.

The other assertion is that performance is a function of fit between organization and environment. This assertion challenges the economists' notion that low-performing organizations will be displaced by high performers because the conditions causing and sustaining low performance have been specified. It also raises the question of circularity, or tautology: Is performance not the best measure of fit between organization and environment?

Perhaps the most important contribution of contingency theory is the notion that there is no one best way to organize. Contingency theory does not prescribe how to organize, beyond recourse to the general notion that correspondences between organizations and environments should be sought.

Second, *resource-dependence theory* is an important specification of adaptation thinking, for it reduces the environment to manageable proportions. Resource-dependence theory portrays organizations as engaged in active struggles for power over one another and over their environments. Organizations seek to avoid dependence on other organizations and to maximize their own discretion. Power is a function of resources: Organizations that hold resources needed by others have power, while those that need resources are in a condition of dependence. Various responses to dependence are possible. For example, organizations may seek to maintain buffer inventories, forecast demand, and maintain alternative sources for needed inputs. Should these strategies prove incapable of overcoming dependence, then long-term contracts, cooptation, and coalitions of organizations may result.

Resource-dependence theory, like contingency theory, assumes that organizations are capable of change and adaptation. Unlike contingency theory, however, resource-dependence theory assumes that organizations seek control over key environmental elements, rather than fit with them. This distinction may be of some importance. Contingency thinking predicts, for example, that the community colleges seek to maximize the fit between programs and students' preferences. Resource-dependence theory, in contrast, predicts that budget maximization will take precedence over the fitting of programs to students.

The Selection Model. Very much in contrast to the adaptation model of organization-environment interchanges, the selection model posits most organizations to be incapable of accommodating internal structures and processes to external changes. Furthermore, the selection model posits that this incapacity for change renders individual organizations vulnerable to selection pressures—that is, to dying—in much the same manner that natural selection eliminates species made unfit by environmental changes. Environmental change, then, causes organizational change through the

dissolution of existing units and through their replacement by new organizations, rather than through the processes of adaptation.

The Institutional Model. The third model of environment-organization interchanges is the institutional model. Here, the most important environmental elements are intangible beliefs about how organizations ought to be constructed. Fundamental to the institutional model is the assumption that organizations are part of the institutional system and, as such, are carriers of value orientations and meaning, apart from their own functional significance. In the institutional model, the existence, formal structure, and administrative procedures of an organization convey (to members and outsiders alike) that its actions are reasonable, rational, and legitimate. So long as organizations do not conflict with institutional expectations for how they ought to be constructed, relatively little attention is paid to their behavior or performance. Thus, while environments control how organizations are constructed and represent themselves externally, actual conduct in organizations may depart substantially from formal representations.

The institutional model is significant in several respects, not the least of which is its subordination of functional rationality to a social logic, which subordinates the substance of rational action to its appearance. We may reasonably ask why organizations might want to place appearances ahead of substance. The answer suggested by the proponents of institutional theories is that rational conduct is elusive in many organizations, because goals cannot be agreed on. Even if there is consensus on goals, rational conduct may still prove difficult, because accomplishment of these goals cannot always be determined easily. Without the possibility of rational conduct, the institutional theorists argue, people seek organizations that conform to models of acceptable conduct. Such conformity, even if it cannot be tied to tangible causes, has tangible consequences—in political and budgetary support, and, most important, in legitimacy.

The institutional model was derived largely from the experience of educational organizations, where formal structures and curricula are sustained by widespread beliefs that they are appropriate, even when there is no evidence of their technical superiority. It is not surprising, given the nature of their work, that schools and colleges seek to behave like institutions. What is interesting is that some segments of education have been better able than others to institutionalize themselves. Elementary, middle, and high schools, as well as universities, have been much more successful than community colleges in this respect.

Implications for Community Colleges

Organizational theory holds that environments normally determine organizations, although through a variety of mechanisms. The

community colleges illustrate how organizations are constrained by diverse environmental forces. Community colleges seek to become institutionalized organizations—that is, to conform to the institutional model of environmental effects on organizations—but they remain vulnerable to environmental pressures, in ways best described by the resource-dependence version of the adapation model. Organizational theory offers several additional insights into why the community college curriculum is so readily influenced by external forces.

First, more than other educational organizations, community colleges are open to and dependent on their environments. The community colleges have no captive clientele. Unlike four-year colleges and universities, the community colleges have relatively few degree students committed to particular institutions.

Second, unlike other educational organizations, community colleges have minimal shared expectations about appropriate structures and activities. This is not an outcome of the colleges' smallness but rather of their variety: Community colleges do so many different things, some of which overlap other levels of education, that their purposes are not easily understood by students, staff, or others.

Third, it is tempting to suggest that the community colleges—which, unique among educational organizations, are highly resource-dependent and only slightly institutionalized—should move in the direction of greater institutionalization. In my judgment, however, this suggestion should be resisted, on several grounds. Competition for legitimacy is already excessive among higher educational institutions, and the community colleges could not compete effectively, much less displace established schools. Moreover, while the outcomes of whole community college systems may be difficult to evaluate, the efficiency of certain specific programs can be assessed. Community colleges may wish to emphasize programs whose outcomes can be clearly established, so that they can make claims for resources on technical rather than institutional grounds. Thus, a unique niche could be made for community colleges.

Fourth, there is very little likelihood of community colleges' acquiring power over their environments through control of scarce resources. Community college administrators must recognize this fact and accommodate to it—through greater entrepreneurship and, to the extent possible, less politicization of action.

In sum, organizational theory offers insights into the current dilemma of the community colleges. It provides a vocabulary, and one that is particularly useful outside business settings, where the calculus of profit and loss governs choices. It points up the tensions between the institutional and the adaptation (resource-dependent) models of conduct. As educational organizations, community colleges must pursue the institutional models, even though their uncertain mandate renders them

unable to escape the resource-dependent models. Organizational theory offers few solutions, because of its emphasis on bounded rationality and external constraints, which limit the choices available to organizations. Indeed, organizational theory suggests that tensions between the institutional and resource-dependent models of conduct will be permanent features of community college systems. Thus, the community college curriculum will continue to be shaped by the colleges' efforts to respond to environmental elements that control the resources on which they depend.

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This chapter includes additional references on political forces shaping the curriculum from the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges.

Sources and Information

Anita Y. Colby

The community college curriculum is subject to the influence of a variety of external forces. Depending on the college, the program, and the state, curricular influences may be advisory or prescriptive, offering broad guidance or detailing particulars of course content. As Cohen (1979) points out, influences on the curriculum differ more by type of program than by type of institution. He argues that the university is the dominant influence on the transfer curriculum; that the occupational curriculum is influenced by business and industry, external licensing or accrediting agencies, and professional groups that devise licensing examinations; and that the community-service program is dominated by the program director, with little input from college faculty.

This chapter offers a brief review of ERIC journal articles and documents that discuss external influences on the community college curriculum, focusing on (1) state-level control, (2) the effects of accrediting agencies and the accreditation process on the curriculum, (3) the role of transfer institutions in shaping the curriculum, (4) curricular changes resulting from programs sponsored by foundations and other grant-giving organizations, and (5) the impact of customized job training programs and other business-industry influences on the vocational program.

D. B. Wolf and M. L. Zoglin (eds.), *External Influences on the Curriculum*.
New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 61. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Winter 1988.

State Influences

National surveys conducted in 1979, 1981, and 1987 documented increases in the numbers of states involved in reviewing and approving community college programs (Parrish, 1979; Green, 1981; and Millard, 1987). Millard argues that these state approval processes, which underpin decisions concerning which programs are to be added, reinforced, curtailed, or eliminated, are more concerned with productivity and the elimination of duplication than with program equity. The program approval process used in Maryland (Maryland State Board for Community Colleges, 1988), however, emphasizes program quality as measured by criteria such as low transfer rates, low job placement levels, or declining awards, as well as productivity issues such as declining enrollments, unusually high costs, inadequate student follow-up, or declining awards.

In its study of forces shaping the humanities curriculum, the Center for the Study of Community Colleges (1978) included the state as one of three major external factors. The center found that state-level influences were exerted through higher education regulatory bodies, such as state boards of education, coordinating boards, community college boards, and postsecondary education committees. These bodies in turn were influenced by legislation and, in some cases, community pressure groups, universities, and the two-year colleges themselves. Mechanisms for influencing the curriculum include the previously mentioned program and course approval processes, reporting requirements, and funding and budget reviews. Funding comes into play when a board grants or withholds capital construction funds for new buildings that would permit expanded offerings or when it establishes formulas for funding humanities at a lower rate than other programs.

Miner (1979) also points to funding as a critical means by which state boards influence the growth and development of curriculum. In 1979, Miner examined the ways in which the community college curriculum in Florida was affected at the state level, calling attention to the effects on the community college curriculum of the removal of state funding for noncredit courses, of proviso language calling for a 50 percent reduction in the number of credits produced in the supplemental area of vocational-technical offerings, and the imposition of state-determined definitions of educational needs.

Accrediting Agencies

In his previously cited review of external intervention on curriculum and instruction, Miner admonishes readers not to overlook the direct external management force of the licensing or accrediting agencies, noting that "the degree of severity of the management ranges

from the broad, beneficial, and self-imposed Regional Accrediting Agency control to the often course-by-course, almost page-by-page, control of certain licensing or certifying agencies" (p. 3).

This distinction between regional accrediting agencies and programmatic accrediting bodies was also emphasized in a 1987 Symposium on Accreditation sponsored by the *North Central Association Quarterly*. Arguing that specialized accreditation is concerned chiefly with the development of its own discipline, Uehling (1987) criticizes the lack of integration of purpose between generalized and specialized accreditation and the use of specialized accreditation as resource leverage to obtain funds for a particular discipline.

Savage (1986) and Blanchard (1986) offer an example of the impact of specialized accreditation on the community college curriculum in their analyses of the potential impact of the accreditation standard of the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business that prohibits member institutions from allowing students to earn business credits during their freshman or sophomore years. Savage sees danger in "a nationally accepted specialized accrediting agency . . . limiting the mission of the community college to providing general education" (pp. 50–51).

Transfer Institutions

The Center for the Study of Community Colleges (CSCC) (1978) found that universities exert influence on the community college curriculum by placing pressure on state agencies and through transfer and articulation agreements that require certain courses be taken by transfer students or that deny credit for certain other courses. The CSCC also suggested that the community college curriculum was affected by direct but informal links maintained between two- and four-year college faculty. Cohen (1979) also underscores the importance of these links, indicating that "community college faculty members who teach the transfer courses were trained in universities. They carry a perception of what an academic program should include. The counsellors who advise the students on what courses they should take keep an eye on university catalogues and discuss transfer requirements. Most of the textbooks in use in the community colleges were written by university-based instructors" (p. 28).

Foundations and Professional Associations

Funding provided by foundations and professional associations has permitted community colleges to initiate innovative and costly programs that might not otherwise have been within these colleges' fiscal

power to develop. The Urban Community Colleges Transfer Opportunities Program (Donovan, Schaier-Peleg, and Forer, 1987) was responsible for the establishment of programs in urban areas across the country to help minority students attend two-year colleges and transfer to four-year institutions. The National Endowment for the Humanities has sponsored a number of programs to strengthen humanities instruction at a time when vocational education seemed to demand and receive a major portion of the financial resources of the institutions (Yarrington and Howard, 1983). The Kellogg Foundation has funded curriculum development efforts for the past several years focusing on "putting America back to work."

Business and Industry

The community college curriculum has also been affected by increasing college involvement in providing training programs for business and industry. A 1988 survey of seventy-two selected community colleges found that all colleges participated in work-related programs, offering more than 650 different courses/programs to employees of area industries (Day and Rajasekhara, 1988). While acknowledging that community colleges may gain increased revenue and state-of-the-art technology from such efforts, Pincus (1985) warns that the growth of customized contract training creates a potential drain on already weakened liberal arts programs and a possible loss of institutional autonomy. He admonishes community colleges to remember their commitment to serving all sectors of the community, rather than emphasizing service to profit-making corporations.

Finding Additional Information

This chapter has reviewed the ERIC literature on the political and economic influences on the community college curriculum. Additional material on the program approval processes of particular states, community college and university coordination and articulation efforts, curriculum development efforts sponsored by the Ford Foundation and National Endowment for the Humanities, and accreditation issues can be obtained through manual or computerized searches of the ERIC data base.

Readers who want to consult the full text of the items cited here are referred to the following references. Items marked with an ED number are ERIC documents. They can be ordered through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service in Wheeler, Virginia (1-800-277-ERIC), or viewed on microfiche at more than 700 libraries across the country. Other materials are published journal articles, which must be obtained through

regular library channels. For an EDRS order form, a list of libraries in your state with ERIC collections, or both, contact the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, 8118 Math Sciences Building, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

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From the Editors' Notes

Community colleges are not carbon copies of four-year institutions. Indeed, they have always prided themselves on being sensitive and responsive to the needs of local constituents. In this sourcebook, we bring together a broad range of perspectives concerning outside influences on the community college curriculum. This volume of New Directions for Community Colleges *explores the deletion as well as the addition of curricula, the way courses are taught as well as what courses are taught, and the role of those who teach them.*

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